

WAR-TIME TV NEWSRATNI TELEVIZIJSKI DNEVNIK

WAR: LIVE ON AIR

SENAD HADŽIFEJZOVIĆ

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WAR-TIME TV NEWSRATNI TELEVIZIJSKI DNEVNIK

WAR: LIVE ON AIR

Djeci Srebrenice To the Children of Srebrenica

FOREWORD

this book a unique in every war

One of the Apest television mutualists and editors ever to be born or made in the Eugenetic region has assembled between these covers, in a whilly don't mentary that is howest way transcripts of all or almost all the IV fleyes breadcasts he exhted and anchored during the most dramatic and most train ic period of the long history of the state of Bosnia, or to give it its official, political name, Bosnia and Herecowing. The time is not yet over when by even standard, both valid and invalid, television and its main evening News were the mouthpiece of the State, the Party and the Authorities. If an hap pened that in 1993, that young man, still almost a youth, by the name of Senad Hadadejaovic, without a shadow of doubt the best of those who 'edit ed and anchored' that most crucial of chores, the state television news, HVFD this book. Philosophers long ago said that 'chance' is in fact 'the attire donned by necessity', and in line with this I refuse to see any hamisinstance as coincidence in the fact that the hem of media affairs, while the people of Bosnia were being killed in a thousand ways, single handedly look eate of the young journalistic world. As one of the Yugoslav republics, Bushla in a post tion of relative equality with the others was already too powerful in the eyes of her neighbours, of those who were tearing her apart. Things conglomerates like Energonivest, on the one hand, and rock music, chess, baskethall, the visual arts and films on the other, had become so potent in every regard that this in itself makes it possible to understand and explain the way in which the things that happened to us occurred. We could have seen all this coming, seen what would be and what was being ordained for us; but never in our worst dreams could we have foreseen the degree of bridality with which those atrocities would be committed.

Readers will see for themselves with what high minded naiveté Bosnians and Sarajevans - perfectly personified in the News anchorman Senad Hadžifejzovic, author of this book - tried to make Peace, unaware that 'matters' to do with Bosnia had already been agreed in detail out there, by her 'neighbours'. That's politics, and the old saw still holds good - down with political But it was Bosnia that was at stake, and particularly Sarajevo. And when it's Bosnia and Sarajevo (1992-1996) that's at stake, one must also keep in infind this terrible truth: there's no need to tell those who know, and there's no use telling those who don't. For those, other than the people of Sarajevo and the author of this book, this account of professional honesty and honest professionalism - for those, then, who weren't in the same basket as they, this book should help them, if anything can, to grasp and understand at least a small part of how things were for us then

Imagine a City with Nothing That's what Sarajevo could have been called: CwN. No water, no electricity, no television, no gas, no bread, no medical supplies, fruit, cigarettes, cosmetics. In that city there was the BH IV News, and there was Senad Hadzifejzović, its editor and anchor. Huddled in their basements, people listened to the radio broadcast of the IV News. [Among the few transistors there were also some 'hand powered' radios, which meant one could have fun: turn the handle a bit more slowly, and Senad's voice changed...] When I think back on it, ten years later, it's fair in say it outright; we didn't have anything else except that voice coming from the transistor.

PREDGOVOR

Evo pred nama po svemu jedinstvene knjige!

Jedan od najboljih televizijskih novinara-urednika što se uopće rodiodogodio na južnoslavenskim prostorima sabrao je "među korice", na sasvim dokumentaran, tj. pošten način, sve tonske zapise svih, ili gotovo svih, TV dnevnika koje je uredivao i vodio u najdramatičnijoj i najtragičnijoj dionici višestoljetne povijesti države Bosne, čije je službeno, političko ime: Bosna i Hercegovina. Još nije prošla povijest u kojoj je, prema svim, dobrim ili nevaljalim mjerilima, Televizija i njen glavni, večernji Dnevnik -glas Države, glas Partije i Vlasti. Slučilo se da, 1992. godine, taj mladić, gotovo dječak, imenom Senad Hadžifejzović, nesumnjivo najbolji među onima koji "uređuju i vode" tu najvažniju rabotu, državni tv-dnevnik, DOŽIVI ovu knjigu. Davno su filozofi kazali kako je "slučaj" zapravo "ruho u koje se odijeva nužnost", pa tako ni ja neću da vidim nikakav slučaj ni slučajnost u činjenici da je junački medijski posao-dok na hiljadu načina ubijaju bosanski narod -obavio sve sami mladi novinarski svijet. Bosna je, kao relativno ravnopravna republika, među ostalim jugoslavenskim republikama već bila, u očima svojih uništitelja, suviše ojačala. Privredni giganti poput "Energoinvesta" na jednoj, a rok-muzika, šah, košarka, likovna umjetnost, film, na drugoj strani -u svemu bila ojačala toliko da se samo time može shvatiti i protumačiti način na koji nam se zbilo ono što se zbilo. Mogli smo shvatiti sve, šta će biti i šta nam se priprema, ali nikad, ni u najmračnijem snivanju, nismo mogli slutiti stepen svireposti s kojim se nad nama vršio zločin.

Čitalac će sam vidjeti s koliko *plemenite naivnosti* bosanski i sarajevski čovjek -sasvim oličen u voditelju Dnevnika Senadu Hadžifejzoviću piscu ove knjige -pokušava učiniti Mir, izvan svake svijesti o tome da su "stvari" oko Bosne, već, tamo, među "komšijama", precizno dogovorene. To je politika, i uvijek je pametna rečenica koja kaže: baci politiku! Radi se, međutim, o Bosni, radi se pogotovo o Sarajevu. A kad se o Bosni i o Sarajevu (1992-1996) radi, mora se imati na umu sljedeća grozomorna istina: ko zna-ne treba mu govoriti, ko ne zna-uzalud mu govoriti! Ko nije, uz Sarajlije, i pisca ove knjige, ovoga dokumenta o *profesionalnoj čestitosti i čestitoj profesionalnosti*, ko dakle nije s njima "istu čorbu kusao" -ova knjiga treba da mu pomogne, ako ikako može, da barem koji djelić od tadašnje naše stvarnosti pojmi i shvati.

Zamislite Grad u Kome Ničeg Nema! A tako se moglo Sarajevo zvati: GuKNN! Nema vode, nema struje, nema televizije, nema plina, nema hljeba, nema lijekova, voća, cigareta, kozmetike... U takvom gradu ima "Dnevnik b/h televizije", i ima Senad Hadžifejzović koji ga uređuje i vodi! Po podrumima, ljudi slušaju radijski prenos TV dnevnika! (A među rijetkim tranzistorima postoji i onaj na "ručni pogon", pa bude smiješno: ako slabije okrećemo ručku, naš nam Senad promijeni glas...) Kad o tome nakon desetak godina razmišljamo, moglo bi se izričito kazati: mi ništa drugo tada nismo ni imali, osim taj glas iz tranzistora, tu zraku svjetla u mraku, glas ljudske nade. Za taj smo se glas držali kao za uže

that ray of light in the darkness, the voice of human hope. We hung on to that voice, as if it were a rope saving us from plummetting into the abyss. These dramatic events, in which the author of this book was a vehement actor, and which he recounts here without the benefit of hindsight, are not only a matter for the history books: those events here turned into the written word - though we recall them as spoken - become in themselves an ongoing drama, more powerful than any history.

The book contains all manner of things.

At a time when any TV editor, bound by the exigencies of war, could ask those who ran the state no questions other than those that were agreed and permitted, Hadžifejzović asked the kind of questions that have you sweating in peace-time and cost you your head in war-time. In his editorial capacity, he recorded thousands, hundreds of thousands, of tears - but never let his own tears show on screen. During those hellish years, he was able to speak the words that are now the cause of OHR closing down newspapers, radio and television stations all over BiH. Phrases like, say, 'The diplomatic garbage of Europe and the world'. Maybe this is why he is not now to be seen on any of the hundreds of television stations we have here.

Angry with the so-called 'international community', but well-intentioned towards our war-time television hero Senad Hadžifejzović, readers of this book can discover all manner of things in this book. Nothing has been added to, nothing concocted; everything is just as it was said when things were at their worst - for Them and for Us.

Caught in this bloody, senseless siege, listening to Senad's News broadcast, we weren't aware of the importance of details: the daily divorces, the sacks of potatoes thrown out to rot simply because future war profiteers were expecting prices to rise, the 'local' shady dealings with water and electricity, or even, say, the dog that searched for its (displaced) owner for two and a half years, covering 120 kilometres to find him - and find him it did!

However much these and other details like them tell us of the hellish life we were leading then, they now tell us even more about the man who conceived the notion of making them known and of giving them universal importance. Senad Hadžifejzović.

When Certain Non-People are putting him in jeopardy in Sarajevo today, while People - perfectly Ordinary People, Sarajevans and Bosnians, utterly extraordinary people - watch him and reach out to touch his hand, his sleeve, to recognize him, and he can't walk along the street for the Beloved People, we simply cannot be indifferent.

We need to cry out, in a louder voice than the voice of the author of these lines of praise for Senad's book, so that it can be heard everywhere and by everyone:

Dear God, how long will this appearement go on?

Abdulah Sidran

koje nas od provalije i ponora spasava!

Dramatične povijesne situacije, u kojima je pisac ove knjige žestoko sudjelovao, i kojima ovdje svjedoči bez uplitanja "naknadne pameti", nisu ostale samo stvar povjesti: u slova pretvoreno ono sta se zbivalo-ali smo ga upamtīli kao izgovoreno-samo sobom postaje drama koja traje, jača od svake povijesti.

Unutra, u knjizi, svašta:

Kada je svaki tv-urednik- u uslovima ratnih obaveznosti! -mogao i smio državnim šefovima postavljati samo i isključivo dogovorena i dozvoljena pitanja, Hadžifejzović je postavlajo pitanja od kojih se, u mima dobateško strada, a u ratnome vremenu, direktno -gubi glava.

Zabilježio je, urednički, hiljade i stotine hiljada ljudskih suza-svojoj suzi nije dao da "na ekran" izide. U jezičkom izrazu -tih paklenih godina, znao je izgovarati formulacije zbog kojih danas OHR, svugdje po BiHukida novine, radija i televizije. Poput, naprimjer, formulacije: " evropska i svjetska diplomatska dubrad"! -Možda ga zbog toga, danas, nema ni na jednoj od stotine ovdašnjih televizija?

Ljutit prema tzv "međunarodnoj zajednici", a blagonaklon prema našem ratnom televizijskom junaku, Senadu Hadžifejzoviću, čitalac ove knjige imaće još štogod takvoga da nade. Ništa dopisano, ništa izmišljeno, nego sve onako kako je bilo -kad je najgušće bilo- "ubrk" izgovoreno. l Njima, i Našijema.

Dok smo, pod Opsadom, u krvi i u bespameti, slušali Senadove Dnevnike, nismo bili svjesni važnost detalja: podaci, sasvim dnevni, o razvodima brakova; o vrećama bačenog krompira, istruhlog samo zato što su budući ratni profiteri čekali da mu se podigne cijena; o "domaćim" manipulacijama sa vodom i strujom; pa, recimo, i o psu koji je za svojim vlasnikom (izbjegicom) tragao dvije i po godine, i prešao 120 km da ga nade, i našao ga!

Koliko svi ti, takvi, i slični pojedinačni detalji govore o sebi i o našemu tadašnjem paklenom životu, još više, danas, govore o onome čovjeku koji je umio da ih učini općim i općenito značajnim. Senad Hadžifejzović.

Kada mu danas, u Sarajevu, istovremeno, Nekakvi Neljudi nanose zlo, a Ljudi, sasvim Obični -Sarajlije i Bosanci, sasvim neobični ljudi! -gledaju kako da Mu dotaknu ruku, rukav, oči da mu prepoznaju, pa ulicom ne može proći od Narodnog Voljenja, nama nikako ne može biti svejedno. Valjalo bi nekim jačim glasom od glasa ovoga koji potpisuje hvalu za Senadovu knjigu kriknuti, da svi i svugdje čuju:

Pa dokle će, mili Bože, pametniji popuštati?

Abdulah Sidran

MEMOIRS AND FACTS

I don't like memoirs.

I don't believe in recollections with hindsight,

I'm always surprised the way people remember every last detail of some event, ten or fifteen years later.

What do Bosnians want with memoirs, when the reality was so horrific and when they've even managed to forget it.

But for all that I'm recalling certain events in this introduction, so as to explain to you what this book is about and why I've written it...

In April 1992, I was sitting at my newscaster's desk in Sarajevo Television's Studio C, anchoring the main daily News broadcast, with just a minute to go before the end... There was a telephone on the desk, which was there just to make the anchorman seem important, a telephone for 'emergencies' - a telephone that had never rung. And then, it rang. I couldn't believe it. I thought to myself, someone from the control room is having me on, making the drama of this war still more dramatic. For all that, I picked up the receiver, and heard the voice of Radovan Karadžić, president of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). Journalists were trying to find him, to tell him that the authorities wanted to have talks, but nobody knew where he was. He told me he wanted to be on air. What should I ask him, why was he calling, what would he say while he was live on air, would he cause panic, would he proclaim war, where was he, why did it have to be me on the programme... While these questions were going through my head, I heard myself saying: 'Joining us live on the programme is Mr Radovan Karadžić, president of the SDS....' He talked about partition, about it being impossible for us to live together, about twenty thousand armed Serbs descending on Sarajevo from Romanija mountain, how it was impossible to stop all this... I told him that my Bosniac family was sheltering from Serb bombardment in their next-door-neighbour's house – with Serbs.

That's how it began. Television 'opened up'. A whole series of events was set in motion, 'live on air', events that, to be honest, I could never have dreamed of even in my wildest dreams, let alone have planned as a newscaster.

The second of May 1992. The most dramatic day of the war. An all-out assault by the Yugoslav Federal Army on Sarajevo. . . At 8.20 p.m. I was getting ready for the News sign-off, when they called me in a panic from the control room, telling me to pick up that telephone receiver. What now? Who was it now? Alija? Alija who? He said, Izetbegović! The President! Help! Where's he calling from? From Lukavica. From Lukavica, of all places! That's where the Serbs and the Yugoslav forces have their HQ. He's there. Kidnapped. And there we go again, live on air...

That night was the turning point for me. I saw before my own eyes, live, that people who only yesterday had been 'bigwigs' had become nobodies, or that they'd always been nobodies. From out of the blue

MEMOARI I FAKTI

Ne volim memoare.

Ne vjerujem tim naknadnim sjećanjima.

Uvijek me čudilo kako se to ljudi deset, petnaest godina poslije sjećaju svih detalja nekog događaja.

Šta će Bosancima memoari kad im je stvarnost bila tako stravična, a i nju su zaboravili.

No, nekih događaja se u ovom uvodu prisjećam da bih objasnio čemu ova knjiga, zašto je pišem...

April 1992, godine, Sjedim za uredničkim stolom u Studiju C Televizije Sarajevo.

Vodim centralnu informativnu emisiju Dnevnik. Do kraja priloga koji se emitira ostala je još jedna minuta...Na stolu je telefon koji je uvijek bio samo "maska", detalj, kako bi se uredniku Dnevnika dalo na važnosti, značaju. To je telefon kao za "hitno". Telefon koji nikada nije zazvonio. l onda zazvoni. Ja ne vjerujem. Mislim, neko iz režije svu tu ratnu dramu još više dramatizira. Ipak, dižem slušalicu. Javlja se Radovan Karadžić, predsjednik Srpske demokratske stranke. Novinari ga traže da im objasni, vlast ga traži da pregovara, niko ne zna gdje je. Kaže, hoće u program. Šta da ga pitam? Zašto se javlja? Šta će reći u programu uživo? Hoće li izazvati paniku? Hoće li objaviti rat? Gdje je to on? Zašto baš meni u program?... Dok mi pitanja marširaju kroz glavu, čujem sebe kako govorim: "U programu uživo je gospodin Radovan Karadžić, predsjednik SDS-a"...

On priča o podjeli, nemogućnosti zajedničkog života, kako dvadeset hiljada naoružanih Srba ide sa Romanije ka Sarajevu, kako je sve nemoguće zaustaviti...Ja mu kažem da se moja, bošnjačka porodica sklonila od srpskog bombardovanja u kuću svojih prvih komšija Srba...

Tako je počelo. Televizija se "otvorila". Krenula je serija događaja "uživo", događaja koje, iskreno, kao čovjek nisam mogao sanjati ni u snovima a kamoli ih urednički planirati. Drugi maj 1992. Najdramatičniji ratni dan. Totalni napad Jugoslovenske armije na Sarajevo...20 sati i 20 minuta. Pripremam se za odjavu Dnevnika. Iz režije mi panično javljaju da podignem slušalicu "onog" telefona. Šta je sada? Ko je sada? Alija? Koji Alija? Izetbegović! Predsjednik? Jah! Odakle? Iz Lukavice. Kakve crne Lukavice?!

Tamo je Štab srpskih i jugoslovenskih snaga! On je tamo. Kidnapovan, I onda opet program uživo...

Te noći sam "prelomio". Vidio sam uživo, svojim očima, pored mene, kako do juče "veliki" ljudi postaju mali ili su mali uvijek bili. Odnekud se u Studiju pojavio Fikret Abdić, član Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine, čovjek koji je na izborima prije 16 mjeseci dobio najviše glasova, malo prije toga optuženik za privredni kriminal...harizmatična ličnost. Došao u studio, a šuti! Pitam ga u pauzi programa zašto šuti. Kaže: "Ovo je Alija dogovorio sa Armijom". Pitam, Alija dogovorio sa Jugoslovenskom armijom da ga kidnapuju"?! -Da! kaže. Idemo u proFikret Abdić, member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, appeared in the Studio: the man who'd gained the most votes in the elections sixteen months earlier, who not long before that had been charged with fraud - a charismatic figure. He came into the studio, and said nothing. I asked him, during a break in the programme, why he was saying nothing. He said, Alija agreed all this with the Army. I said, Alija agreed with the Yugoslav Army that they'd kidnap him? That's right, he said. Let's go on air, I said, say it on air! He said, I'm not crazy. Then I'll say you said it to me, Fikret! If you do, I'll say you're lying! I looked at the man, I'd already noticed that I was no longer using the formal address to him, no longer calling him 'Mr President', and I told him: Get out of the studio. And out he went. I don't think I was being brave. My legs were shaking. But the viewers couldn't see my legs under the desk anyway, couldn't see how they were shaking, they could see my face. If I don't snap, I'll turn them around. I told the control room to get me back on air. Let's go on. That was when that madness began that went on, live on air, for three and a half years. Actually, I think it's still going on.

This book does not aspire to cover all the events that took place between April 1992 and November 1995. It covers an entirely new function for television: television in war. It tells you how we journalists behaved during the war. What's most important of all, it reveals what key military and political leaders and actors, figures from the Bosnian, Bosniac, Serb and Croat sides, said live on air during the war. In my view that's what matters most, what they said live on air, during a risky programme, live, when they could be asked anything and everything, and were, on a programme where they quite unexpectedly opened up, getting sudden attacks of sincerity, of anger, of rage, even of hatred...

Until April 1992, our Television News was the main news broadcast for the country.

From that April on, it became the principal broadcast of our lives.

It was no longer merely a news broadcast.

It was about life and, more and more, about death.

In April 1992 I was the youngest newscaster in the whole of Yugoslavia.

In April 1996 I was the oldest newscaster in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In April 1992 I was one of three newscasters for the main BiH Television News broadcast. Between April 1992 and April 1996, more than a hundred journalists anchored the TVBiH News.

I was the only newscaster who anchored the News before, during and after the war.

That whole time I had only one goal, not to be the kind of journalist that

gram, kažem, reci to u program! On kaže: -Nisam lud! Ja ću reći, Fikrete, da si ti to sad meni rekao! -Reci, ja ću reći da ti lažeš, odgovara on. Gledam tog čovjeka, već sam primjetio da ga više ne persiram, da ga ne oslovljavam sa "gospodine predsjedniče" i kažem mu: Napusti studio. 1 on je otišao. Ne smatram da sam bio hrabar tada. Noge su mi se tresle. Ali, gledaoci ne vide moje noge iza stola kako se tresu, vide moje lice. Ako ne prelomim sebe prelomiću njih. Kažem režiseru, uključi me u program, ldemo dalje. I onda je počelo to ludilo "uživo" koje je trajalo tri i po godine. Mislim, da još uvijek i traje...

Ova knjiga nema pretenzija da obuhvati sve događaje iz perioda april 1992. - novembar 1995. Ona je skup vanrednih situacija koje su se dogodile u Dnevniku.

Ona je zbir mojih najava koje su nastale tu, pred kamerom, odjednom kao reakcija na događaj koji se upravo desio ili na informaciju tek prispjelu.

Objašnjava jednu sasvim novu funkciju televizije. Televizije u ratu. Govori kako smo se mi, novinari ponašali u ratu.

Najvažnije, otkriva šta su u ratu u programu uživo, govorili ključni vojni i politički lideri i akteri bosanske, bošnjačke, srpske i hrvatske strane. Mislim da je to najvažnije, šta su oni govorili u programu uživo. U

riskantnom programu uživo u kojem se svašta moglo pitati, i pitalo se, u programu u kojem su se neočekivano otvarali, dobijali napade iskrenosti, srdžbe, ljutnje pa i mržnje...

Ako vam se učini da u ovoj knjizi ima govornih, gramatičkih grešaka bićete u pravu, to su greške koje su se desile u programu uživo i koje sam ostavio onakve kakve jesu, jer i one odražavaju dramatičnost zbivanja, zbunjenost aktera. To su originalne greške koje nisam imao pravo "ispraviti".

Dnevnik naše Televizije do aprila 1992. godine bio je centralna informativna emisija u zemlji,

Od aprila on je postao centralna emisija naših života.

Nije bio samo informativna emisija.

Emisija života i sve više, smrti.

U aprilu 1992 godine ja sam bio najmlađi urednik Dnevnika u cijeloj Jugoslaviji.

U aprilu 1996 godine bio sam najstariji urednik Dnevnika u Bosni i Hercegovini.

U aprilu 1992, bio sam jedan od trojice urednika Dnevnika Televizije BiH.

Od aprila 1992. godine do aprila 1996. godine Dnevnik TVBiH uređivalo je više odstotinu novinara!

Jedini sam urednik Dnevnika bio prije, za vrijeme i nakon rata.

the enemies of my country wanted to turn me into, not to be the kind of journalist that the propaganda machinery of the enemies of my country had created, not to be the kind of journalist they were trying to make me be in Sarajevo under siege.

I knew that I couldn't change what was happening during the war but I was sure I could help to ease people's pain and suffering.

I'd like you who are reading this book to read it as though you were watching a single News broadcast that began on 2 April 1992 and ended only on 25 November 1995.

Senad Hadžifejzović



Za sve vrijeme, imao sam samo jedan cilj, da ne budem novinar kakvog me neprijatelj moje zemlje htio napraviti, da ne budem novinar kakve su fabrikovale propagandne mašinerije neprijatelja moje zemlje, da ne budem onakav novinar kako su me nagovarali da budem u opkoljenom Sarajevu.

Znao sam u ratu da ne mogu promijeniti ratne događaje, ali sam vjerovao da mogu ublažiti ljudsku bol i patnju.

Molim te, poštovani čitaoče, da ovu knjigu čitaš kao da gledaš Dnevnik koji je počeo drugog aprila 1992, a završio dvadesetpetog novembra 1995. godine.

Senad Hadžifejzović



PRINCIPAL PLAYERS, April 1992

Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

- former political prisoner, lawyer, president of the Party for Democratic Action of BiH (SDA), President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ

- pravnik, bivši politički zatvorenik, predsjednik Stranke demokratske akcije BiH. Predsjedništva predsjednik Bosne i Hercegovine

Stjepan KLJUIĆ

- journalist, president of the Croatian Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH), member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Stjepan KUUIĆ

-novinar, predsjednik Hrvatske demokratske zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine, član Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine

Haris SILAJDŽIĆ

- professor, doctor of history, Foreign Minister of BiH, later Prime Minister of BiH



Haris SILAJDŽIĆ

- profesor, doktor historijskih nauka, ministar vanjskih poslova BiH, potom predsjednik Vlade BiH

Fikret ABDIĆ

 businessman, director of Agrokomerc company, formerly accused of corporate crime, member of the Presidency of BiH



Fikret ABDIĆ

- privrednik, direktor firme "Agrokomerc", bivši optuženik za privredni kriminal, član Predsjedništva BiH

Nijaz DURAKOVIĆ

- professor, doctor of political sciences, president of the Social Democratic Party of BiH (SDP), later member of the Presidency of BiH



Nijaz DURAKOVIĆ

- profesor, doktor političkih nauka, predsjednik Socijaldemokratske partije BiH, potom član Predsjedništva BiH

GLAVNI LIKOVI, April, 1992

Ejup GANIĆ – professor, doctor of mechanical engineering, member of the Presidency of BiH



Ejup GANIĆprofesor, doktor mašinskih nauka, član Predsjedništva BiH

Stjepan ŠIBER
- Colonel, later General, Deputy Commanding
Officer of the Territorial Defence of BiH, later
Deputy Commanding Officer of the Army of BiH



Stjepan ŠIBER

- pukovnik, potom general, zamjenik komandanta Teritorijalne odbrane BiH, potom zamjenik komandanta Armije BiH

Jovo DIVJAK
- Colonel, later General, Deputy Commanding
Officer of the Territorial Defence of BiH, later
Deputy Commanding Officer of the Army of BiH



Jovo DIVJAK

- pukovnik, potom general, zamjenik komandanta Teritorijalne odbrane BiH, potom zamjenik komandanta Armije BiH

Mustafa CERIĆ
- professor, doctor of Islamic studies, imam in
Chicago and Zagreb, later Reis ul Ulema, supreme
leader of the Islamic Community of BiH



 Mustafa CERIĆ
 profesor, doktor islamskih nauka, imam u Čikagu i Zagrebu, potom reisu-l-ulema, vrhovni poglavar Islamske zajednice u BiH

Vinko PULIĆ

- Vrhbosnian Archbishop, supreme leader of the Catholic community of BiH, first Cardinal of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Vinko PULIĆ
-nadbiskup vrhbosanski, vrhovni poglavar
katoličke zajednice u BiH, prvi kardinal
Bosne i Hercegovine

PRINCIPAL PLAYERS, April 1992

Abdulah SIDRAN - writer, screenwriter, leading author of BiH



ABDULAH SIDRAN

- književnik, filmski scenarista, "prvo pero" BiH

Emir KUSTURICA - finest film director of BiH and Yugoslavia, spare-time 'politician'



Emir KUSTURICA

- najbolji filmski režiser bivše Jugoslavije, u slobodno vrijeme "političar"

Zdravko GREBO - professor, doctor of law, eternal opposition figure



Zdravko GREBO

- profesor, doktor pravnih nauka, vječiti opozicionar

Radovan KARADŽIĆ - poet, psychiatrist, convicted for corporate crime

and fraud, doctor of medicine, member of the environmental Green Party, later president of the Serbian Democratic Party of BiH (SDS)



Radovan KARADŽIĆ

- pjesnik, psihijatar, optuživan za privredni kriminal i prevaru, član ekološke Stranke zelenih, potom predsjednik Srpske demokratske stranke BiH

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ - banker, president of Serbia, and later of Yugoslavia



Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ

- bankar, predsjednik Srbije, potom Jugoslavije

GLAVNI LIKOVI, April, 1992

Milutin KUKANJAC

General of the Yugoslav Army, Commanding
 Officer of the Yugoslav Army in BiH, Commanding
 Officer of the Second Army district



Milutin KUKANJAC

 general Jugoslovenske armije, komandant Jugoslovenske armije u BiH, komandant Druge armijske oblasti

Ratko MLADIĆ

 Colonel of the Yugoslav Army, Commanding Officer of the Serbian troops in Croatia, later General and Commanding Officer of the Serb Army in BiH



Ratko MLADIĆ

 pukovnik Jugoslovenske armije, komandant srpskih formacija u Hrvatskoj, potom general i komandant Srpske vojske u BiH

Vojislav ĐURĐEVAC

- General of the Yugoslav Army in BiH, Commanding Officer of the largest barracks in Sarajevo, Lukavica



Vojislav ĐURĐEVAC

 general Jugoslovenske armije u BiH, komandant najveće kasarne u Sarajevu, (Lukavica)

Franjo TUĐMAN

- former General of the Yugos av Army, historian, doctor of history, President of Croatia



Franjo TUĐMAN

 bivši general Jugoslovenske armije, historičar, doktor povijesnih znanosti, predsjednik Hrvatske

Boutros BOUTROS GHALI

- United Nations Secretary-General



Boutros BUTROS GALI

- generalni sekretar Ujedinjenih naroda

PRINCIPAL PLAYERS, April 1992

Yasushi AKASHI
- Special Representative of Boutros Ghali for former Yugoslavia



Jasuši AKAŠI

- izaslanik Butrosa Galija za bivšu
Jugoslaviju

Tadeusz MAZOWIECKI- UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in former Yugoslavia



Tadeuš MAZOVJECKI

- specijalni izvjestitelj UN-a za ljudska prava u bivšoj Jugoslaviji

Manfred WÖRNER - NATO Secretary-General



Manfred VERNER
- generalni sekretar NATO-a

Juan ANTONIO SAMARANCH - Chair of the International Olympic Committee



Huan ANTONIO SAMARANpredsjednik Međunarodnog olimpijskog komiteta

POPE JOHN PAUL II
- supreme leader of the Roman Catholic Church



PAPA IVAN PAVAO DRUGI
- vrhovni poglavar rimokatoličke crkve

GLAVNI LIKOVI, April, 1992

ARMY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

 armed forces of the state of BiH after BiH came under attack, created by merging Territorial Defence, Patriotic League, and Green Berets troops, together with informal, paramilitary, local armed groups



ARMIJA BIH

 oružana snaga države BiH nastala nakon napada na BiH spajanjem jedinica Teritorijalne odbrane, Patriotske lige, Zelenih beretki, te neformalnih, lokalnih naoružanih grupa.

CHETNIKS

 opprobrious Bosnian name for Serb troops, official Serbian name for certain Serb troops



ČETNICI

 pogrdni bosanski naziv za srpske jedinice, zvanični srpski naziv za neke srpske jedinice

SERB ARMY

 armed forces of the Bosnian Serbs, created by merging local Serb troops in BiH composed of volunteers from Serbia and Montenegro armed by the Yugoslav Army



SRPSKA VOJSKA

 oružana snaga bosanskih Srba nastala spajanjem lokalnih srpskih jedinica u BiH, sastavljena od dobrovoljaca iz Srbije i Crne Gore i Jugoslovenske armije.

JNA

 Yugoslav Federal Army, until the war in Slovenia and Croatia comprising all nations and nation– alities of Yugoslavia, from 1991 on a predomi– nantly Serbian army



JNA

 Jugoslovenska narodna armija, do rata u Sloveniji i Hrvatskoj sastavljena od svih naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije, nakon 1991. godine dominantno srpska armija

HVO

- Croatian Defence Council, army of the Bosnian Croats in BiH



HVO

 Hrvatsko vijeće obrane, vojska bosanskih Hrvata u BiH

PRINCIPAL PLAYERS, April 1992

Arijana SARAČEVIĆ - TV Sarajevo journalist, best war reporter



Arijana SARAČEVIĆ
- novinar TV Sarajevo, najbolji ratni reporter

Suada DILBEROVIĆ – symbol of the first victim of the war in Sarajevo



Suada DILBEROVIĆ
- simbol prve žrtve rata u Sarajevu

Maja ĐOKIĆ – symbol of the last victim of the war in Sarajevo



Maja ĐOKIĆ
- simbol posljednje žrtve rata u Sarajevu

Victor JAKOVICH
– first US ampassador to BiH



Viktor JAKOVIČ
- prvi ambasador SAD u BiH

Senad HADŽIFEJZOVIĆ - TV Sarajevo journalist, newscaster



Senad HADŽIFEJZOVIĆ
- novinar TV Sarajevo, urednik Dnevnika

GLAVNI LIKOVI, April, 1992



UNPROFOR

- United Nations Protection Force in BiH

UNPROFOR

- zaštitne snage Ljedinjenih naroda u BiH

PEOPLES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Muslims (Bosniacs), Serbs, Croats and others, national groups that voted mainly for their national parties in the November 1990 elections, when they numbered more than four million.



NARODI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

- Bošnjaci, Srbi, Hrvati i ostali, narodna masa koja je na izborima u novembru 1990. godine glasala uglavnom, za svoje nacionalne stranke. Bilo ih je više od četiri miliona

CITIZENS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- principally well-to-do people, naive, fond of nationally mixed marriages, owners of VW Golf motorcars and of weekend cottages in the mountains and on the Adriatic coast, frugal and spendthrift, football fanatics, world travellers, and inventors of good and bad jokes about themselves...



GRAĐANI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

- uglavnom solidno situirani ljudi, naivci, ljubitelji miješanih nacionalnih brakova, vlasnici automobila "golf", vlasnici vikendica na planinama i Jadranskom moru, štediše i rasipnici, fudbalski fanatici, svjetski putnici, autori i dobrih i loših viceva "sami o sebi"...



DJECA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

- potomci naroda i građana, Maša, Feđa, Emest, Marko, Nemanja, Elvis, Robert, Damir, Mirza, Mia, Ena, Maja, Amer... bezbrižni klinci koji se međusobno u velikim gradovima nisu mogli razlikovati po naciji.

CHILDREN OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- offspring of peoples and citizens, called Maša, Feda, Ernest, Marko, Nemanja, Elvis, Robert, Damir, Mirza, Mia, Ena, Maja, Amer, carefree kids who were unable, in the large towns, to tell one another apart by nationality

LEADING ROLES April 1992 - November 1995

These are people who at first played a minor and later a very important role:

BILL CLINTON, US President, King HUSSEIN of Jordan, YITZHAK RABIN, Prime Minister of Israel, VLADIMIR SREBROV, founder of the SDS, poet, MICHAEL ROSE, UNPROFOR commandant, ATIF DUDAKOVIĆ, Commanding Officer of the Fifth Corps of the Army of BiH, MEHMED ALAGIĆ, Commanding Officer of the Seventh Corps of the Army of BiH, PADDY ASHDOWN, president of the British Liberals, VUK DRAŠKOVIĆ, leader of the Serbian opposition, RICHARD GOLDSTONE, first Chief Prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal, IVAN STAMBOLIĆ, former leader of Serbia

ULOGE

april 1992. -novembar 1995.

Ovo su likovi koji su u početku odigrali manje a kasnije vrlo bitne uloge:

BILL CLINTON, predsjednik SAD, HUSEIN Kralj Jordana, JICAK RABIN, predsjednik vlade Izraela, VLADIMIR SREBROV, osnivač SDS-a, pjesnik, MAJKL ROUZ, komandant Unprofora, ATIF DUDAKOVIĆ, komandant V korpusa Armije BiH, MEHMED ALAGIĆ, komandant VII korpusa Armije BiH, PEDI EŠDAUN, predsjednik britanskih liberala, VUK DRAŠKOVIĆ, vođa srbijanske opozicije, RIČARD GOLDSTON, prvi tužilac Haškog tribunala, IVAN STAMBOLIĆ, bivši prvi čovjek Srbije...

CAPAJEBO 1590 JAGOBA

2 April 1992 NEWS TV SARAJEVO

Good evening.

It isn't official, it hasn't been declared, it's being waged, for now, over a limited area, but it's already fair to say:

THIS IS WAR!

War against the innocent, war against our children, war against all of us.

We aren't killing each other - they're killing the rest of us.

Don't listen to rumours.

Don't believe anything you haven't seen for yourself.

This is war with no holds barred, and armaments aren't its only weapons!

2 April 1992 NEWS TV SARAJEVO

We now have a perfect right to ask ourselves, not only as people facing the television cameras, but also as people living through this together with you: where is the GOVERNMENT we voted for in those first elections, post-war, free, democratic and all that?

Where are the deputies?

I'm afraid to call on them to return to their parliamentary benches; our worry is that the consequences might be still more dramatic, given that we know all this is the outcome of many of the vile things they've been saying.









02. april 1992.

DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Dobro veče!

Nije ozvaničen, nije objavljen, vodi se, za sada, na ograničenim teritorijama, ali možemo već reći:

OVO JE RAT !!!

Rat protiv nedužnih, rat protiv naše djece, rat protiv svih nas.

Ne ubijamo se mi međusobno, ubijaju sve nas.

Nemojte slušati glasine! Ne vjerujte ničemu što ne vidite! Ovo je specijalni rat koji se ne vodi samo oružjem!



02. april 1992.

DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Sada imamo apsolutno pravo, ne samo kao ljudi koji su pred televizijskim kamerama, već kao ljudi koji su u ovoj situaciji zajedno sa vama, da se upitamo: gdje je vlast koju smo birali na prvim, poslijeratnim, slobodnim, demokratskim i ostalim izborima?

Gdje su poslanici?

Bojim se da ih pozovemo da se vrate u svoje poslaničke klupe jer nas je strah da bi to još veće posljedice izazvalo, jer znamo da je mnogo njihovih ružnih riječi dovelo do svega ovoga!









2 April 1992 NEWS TV SARAJEVO

It is no exaggeration – indeed, the facts bear it out – to say that the last pastion of common sense and community is the media: RTV Sarajevo, Oslobođenje and YUTEL.

Here is what the chief editors of these media organs have to say to you, the viewer:

Goran Milić, YUTEL:

I wouldn't have much faith in people who promise you that instead of a single, shared house, you will each live singly in your own, in three separate houses. I don't believe them because first you'd nave to build two new houses, while the people who are making these promises are destroying the only one we have.

And when all of us are left without a roof over our heads, forming long, hopeless convoys of refugees, when our children are begging European observers for powdered mi k and chewing gum, and our daughters and sisters making love with soldiers from exotic countries for two or three dollars, don't say: we didn't know, how could we have known! We must all find the strength to tell our respective leaders all the things we don't agree with!

Here, I'll go first: I don't agree with the politics of the present HDZ leadership in Bosnia and Herzegovina! Nor do I agree that ten, thirty, or fifty percent of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be Croatian territory.

Milenko Voćkić, Radio Sarajevo

... If there is anything we can rely on, since we are still a long way from democracy, it's the wisdom of our people, which will be far more powerful than the current political madness. . .

Kemal Kurspahić, Oslobođenje:

As for those who prefer greater-state agendas - whosoever's they may be - to their own children's -games, they'd better consult a psychiatrist! But not THAT psychiatrist, the one who prescribes weapons as the cure, because that would mean everything around us becoming a great, mournful Bosnian ship full of madmen, in which we will all sink together into an ocean of disaster. . .

Nenad Pejić, TV Sarajevo:

. . . You aren't under threat from Serbs, Croats, or Muslims. You're threatened by nationalists and chauvinists, by people who trade in your national feelings, your houses, your families, your lives...





Nećemo pretjerati ako kažemo, činjenice to i potvrđuju, da su posljednje odbrane razuma i zajedništva ostala javna glasila: RTV Sarajevo, Oslobođenje i YUTEL.

Poštovani gledaoci, obraćaju vam se glavni i odgovorni urednici ovih glasila.

Goran Milić, YUTEL:

Ja ne bih mnogo vjerovao ljudima koji vam obećavaju da ćete umesto u jednoj zajedničkoj kući, živjeti u tri, svako u svojoj. Ne verujem, jer treba najpre izgraditi te dve nove, a ljudi koji vam to obećavaju ruše jedinu postojeću.

l kada svi budemo bez krova nad glavom, u dugim beznadežnim kolonama izbeglica, kada nam deca budu prosila mleko u prahu i žvake od evropskih posmatrača, a kćerke i sestre vodile ljubav za dva-tri dolara sa vojnicima iz egzotičnih zemalja, nemojte reći: Nismo znali, nismo mogli! Svako mora smoći snage i reći upravo vođama svog naroda sve što im ne valja! Evo, ja ću prvi: Ne slažem se sa politikom sadašnjeg rukovodstva HDZ BiH! Ne slažem se ni sa deset, ni trideset, ni pedeset posto hrvatske teritorije u BiH...

Milenko Voćkić, Radio Sarajevo:

...Ako se više u išta uzdati, jer je demokratija daleko od nas, uzdati se u mudrost naših ljudi koja će biti jača od trenutne političke ludosti.

Kemal Kurspahić, Oslobođenje:

Ako ima i onih kojima su draži veliki velikodržavni projekti, /bilo čiji/, od igre sopstvene djece, onda neka se jave psihijatru! Ali ne "onom" psihijatru koji će im kao lijek propisati oružje, jer će onda sve ovo oko nas postati jedan veliki, žalosni bosanski brod ludaka sa kojim ćemo svi zajedno potonuti u nesreću...

Nenad Pejić, Televizija Sarajevo:

...Niste vi ugroženi od Srba, Hrvata, Muslimana. Vi ste ugroženi od nacionalista i šovinista, od trgovaca vašim nacionalnim osjećajima,vašim kućama, vašim porodicama, vašim životima...





5 April 1992 NEWS TV SARAJEVO

LIVE: Alma Suljević, Josip Pejaković, Rade Šerbedžija and Emir Kusturica.

Hadžifejzović: This is not a separate news broadcast, but merely the continuation of today's live oroadcast.

Our television crew is in the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina /where a crowd had gathered/ and live on air, Rasim Borčak reporting. What's going on there?

Borčak: I've heard that Prime Minister Jure Pel'van has offered to resign... I invite my colleague Brigić, as agreed, to tell us what he has seen today... However, I've just been told that, after working all day, my colleague Brigić has lost his voice... that his throat is troubling him... and that he's gone to get a drink of water... he's just coming...what have you seen today?

Dubravko Brigić, journalist and poet: Shortly after 2 pm, we set off from the Sarajevo TV Centre, accompanying a ong line of several thousand civilians who had set off from Dobrinja. To begin with, people were in a good mood, smiling, they'd come out with their children, the children on their bicycles. It all had a bit of a picnic atmosphere, or as though they were going for a stroll.

It was only when they reached Bratstva i Jedinstva /Brotherhood and Unity/ street and were about to come up against the first barricade that we heard shots and the first people were wounded. After that the people, who were already confused and scared, decided to go to the Parliament, but some headed towards the barricades on Vrbanja /bridge/. This was when it turned into a real tragedy...

Here is Alma Suljević, a sculptor from Sarajevo, who was right on Vrbanja bridge.

Alma Suljević, sculptor: I'd just like the camera to film my hand covered in blood! Until now all this hand did was to make statues for this city! But now these hands are stained with the blood of a girl who has been killed!

We were standing on the bridge, saying what everyone in this hall thinks: 'Murderers, come out, you murderers!' They were firing at us with machine guns!

As if we weren't people, as if we weren't living beings. . .

They were wearing uniforms. Green, multicolored, camouflaged... They were in JNA /Yugos av Federal Army/ uniform, with their insignia. Anyone could be wearing this uniform these days, it's not that we want to accuse anybody... I just want these people, this Bosnia that isn't living back in the dark ages and never will do so, to see that in this Bosnia a sculptor's hands are beginning to sculpt in blood...

Josip Pejaković, actor: People of Sarajevo, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, let's come out onto the streets and stop THIS with our hands, THIS which can steal up on us in the night so we never wake up again!

Let's show that we have to put a stop to these monsters!

...It's evident that we're on our own! We can't let anyone disrupt, let alone destroy Sarajevo. Let's resist and show that we have get back around the table and come to an agreement, as we have always done. Don't be scared, all of you out there on the streets! All of Sarajevo! Come on, you miners from Breza and









(UŽIVO): Alma Suljević, Josip Pejaković, Rade Šerbedžija i Emir Kusturica.

Hadžifejzović: Ovaj Dnevnik nije zasebna cjelina već samo nastavak našeg današnjeg cjelodnevnog direktnog prijenosa.

U Skupštini BiH je naša televizijska ekipa "tamo se okupio narod, /op.a/ koja se uživo javlja. Reporter je Rasim Borčak. Šta se tamo dešava?

Borčak: Ja sam čuo da je predsjednik Vlade Jure Pelivan ponudio ostavku... Ja pozivam kolegu Brigića, ja sam se s njim dogovorio, da kaže šta je on danas vidio.

...Međutim, rekoše mi da je kolega Brigić nakon cjelodnevnog rada promukao... da ima problema sa grlom... i da je otišao da se napije vode... evo ga... šta si danas vidio?

Dubravko Brigić, novinar, pjesnik: Mi smo nešto iza dva sata krenuli od Televizije Sarajevo, pratili smo kolonu od nekih hiljadu građana koji su krenuli sa Dobrinje. Ta kolona je ispočetka bila raspoložena, nasmijana, ljudi su išli sa djecom, djeca sa biciklima. Sve je izgledalo kao jedan lijepi izlet, kao šetnja.

Tek kada se došlo prema ulici Bratstva i jedinstva i krenulo prema prvoj barikadi začula se pucnjava i tu su prvi ljudi ranjeni. Poslije toga, narod, već zbunjen i uplašen, odlučio je krenuti prema Skupštini, ali narod je krenuo i prema barikadama na Vrbanji. Tu je tek došlo do prave tragedije...

Ovdje je Alma Suljević, sarajevska vajarka, koja je bila neposredno na mostu Vrbanja

Alma Suljević, vajarka: Ja bih samo voljela da kamera snimi moju krvavu ruku!!!

Ova ruka je do danas vajala za ovaj grad samo kipove! Na ovim rukama se sada nalazi krv djevojčice koja je poginula!

Mi smo stajali na mostu, govorili smo im ono što misli svaki čovjek u ovoj sali: "Ubice, izađite, ubice! "Oni su po nama rafalnom paljbom pucali!

Kao da mi nismo ljudi, kao da mi nismo živa bića...

Bili su odjeveni u uniforme. Zelene, šarene, maskirne... Bili su u odjeći JNA sa njihovim oznakama. Tu odjeću danas može svako da ima, mi ne želimo da optužujemo... Ja samo želim da vidi ovaj narod, ova Bosna koja nije "tamni vilajet" i nikada neće biti tamni vilajet, da vidi da ruke vajara u ovoj Bosni počinju da vajaju krv...

Josip Pejaković, glumac: Građani Sarajeva, građani Bosne i Hercegovine, izađimo na ulice i rukama zaustavimo "ovo" što nas u noći može dočekati i da se nikada više ne probudimo!

Dokažimo, dokažimo da nemanima trebamo stati ukraj!

... Očito je da smo prepušteni sami sebi! Ne dozvolimo da nam neko ovo Sarajevo naruši i sruši. Suprotstavimo se i dokažimo da se moramo vratiti "zelenim čojama" i da se dogovaramo onako kako smo se uvijek dogovarali.









Alma Suljević, sculptor: I'd just like the camera to film my hand covered in blood! Until now all this hand did was to make statues for this city! But now these hands are stained with the blood of a girl who has been killed!

We were standing on the bridge, saying what everyone in this hall thinks: 'Murderers, come out, you murderers!' They were firing at us with machine guns!

As if we weren't people, as if we weren't living beings. . .

They were wearing uniforms. Green, multico ored, camouflaged. . .They were in JNA /Yugoslav Federal Army/ uniform, with their insignia. Anyone could be wearing this uniform these days, it's not that we want to accuse anybody. . . I just want these people, this Bosnia that isn't living back in the dark ages and never will do so, to see that in this Bosnia a sculptor's hands are beginning to sculpt in blood. . .

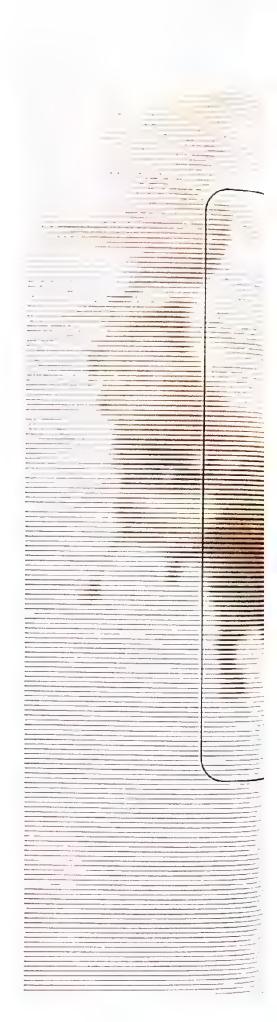
Alma Suljević, vajarka: Ja bih samo voljela da kamera snimi moju krvavu ruku!!!

Ova ruka je do danas vajala za ovaj grad samo kipove! Na ovim rukama se sada nalazi krv djevojčice koja je poginula!

Mi smo stajali na mostu, govorili smo im ono što misli svaki čovjek u ovoj sali: "Ubice, izadite, ubice! "Oni su po nama rafalnom paljbom pucali!

Kao da mi nismo ljudi, kao da mi nismo živa bića...

Bili su odjeveni u uniforme. Zelene, šarene, maskirne... Bili su u odjeći JNA sa njihovim oznakama. Tu odjeću danas može svako da ima, mi ne želimo da optužujemo... Ja samo želim da vidi ovaj narod, ova Bosna koja nije "tamni vilajet" i nikada neće biti tamni vilajet, da vidi da ruke vajara u ovoj Bosni počinju da vajaju krv...





5 April 1992 NEWS TV SARAJEVO

Zenica!

Come on, you who are hungry! We shan't let them have Bosnia!

Rade Šerbedžija, actor: These people are no longer even defending Yugoslavia.

These people will defend their own lives, their lives as citizens, as civilians, their freedom, their right to life, the lives of their children.

Politics isn't important! Only life matters! The lives of all these people.

Even the lives of the people firing at us. Even theirs...



Hadžifejzović (later): I'm informed by the control room that our eminent fellow citizen, the movie director Emir Kusturica, who's in Paris, is on the line now.

You've probably heard what's going on in Sarajevo today. I'm interested in your personal view of these events in your city.

Emir Kusturica, movie director: I'm upset... However, if we take a look at what really preceded what these unfortunate people have been experiencing today, what they experienced yesterday or the day before, it's not difficult to see that in fact it's their own fault!

The people have chosen their own misfortune.

How can these people set themselves free from that misfortune?

In my view, the way to do it is the opposite of what they are trying to do now.

Waving your arms and shouting 'Peace' without any plan is suicidal!

The people must overthrow the government in an organized way, this government where all three nations are represented, and establish what we tried to establish, a civilian government that isn't deeply immersed in any religion.

Otherwise, it'll be an endless bloodbath.

Of course, I am not speaking as a budding politician, but as an ordinary citizen.

Secondly, if I were to appeal to anyone, if my /word/ carries any weight, and I doubt if anyone's carries more than mine, I don't think it's something individuals can do.

I think the key role should be taken by the Army /the JNA/.

I'm following all these events here on satellite. In the last two weeks I have been hearing the authorities, not all but more and more of them, treating the Army as hostile, and now accusing them of not reacting as they should have, and so on.

I say, and I firmly believe, that the Army still has the potential and strength to save these people regardless of who or what they are.

I repeat: peace is a very serious matter!

Peace must be won by force!

On the contrary, where the Gandhian principle simply isn't applicable, these unarmed people must overthrow the authorities, whether it's tonight or tomorrow!

05. april 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Ne bojte se, svi na ulicu! Cijelo Sarajevo! Krenite rudari iz Breze i Zenice!

Krenite gladni !!!

Ne damo Bosne !!!

de Šerbedžija, glumac: Ovaj narod ne brani više ni Jugoslaviju.

Ovaj narod brani vlastiti život, građanski život, civilni život, svoju slobodu na život i život svoje djece.

Politike nisu važne! Samo život! Život svakog od ovih ljudi.

Čak i život onih ljudi koji pucaju. Čak i njihov...

džifejzović /nešto kasnije/: Iz režije mi javljaju da imamo direktnu telefonliniju sa našim poštovanim sugrađaninom, režiserom Emirom Kusturicom i je u Parizu.

Vjerovatno si čuo šta se dešava danas u Sarajevu.

Interesuje me tvoj lični, ljudski stav prema ovome što se dešava u m gradu.

ir Kusturica, režiser: Ja sam uzbuđen...Međutim ako se osvrnemo unazad i pogledamo šta je zapravo sve prethodilo ovome što je taj unesrećeni svidoživio danas, juče i prekjuče, onda možemo vrlo lako shvatiti da je, zapra-u pitanju izbor naroda!

Narod je izabrao svoju vlastitu nesreću.

Kako bi taj narod mogao te nesreće da se oslobodi? mom mišljenju suprotno od onoga kako taj narod to pokušava da učini las.

Mlatarati se okolo i vikati "mir", bez osnove je i samoubilački!

Taj narod mora organizovano da sruši vlast koja tamo, zapravo, pred-/lja sva tri naroda i da uspostavi ono što smo mi pokušali da uspostavimo: lnu vlast koja nije duboko zaronjena niti u jednu religiju.

Drukčije, to će biti krvoproliće koje neće imati kraja.

avno, ja ne govorim kao neko ko bi želio da se bavi politikom, nego kao Janin.

Drugo, ako bih mogao da apelujem na nekoga, ako moja "riječ" važi t vjerujem da ičija više važi. Sumnjam da lični istup može išta da pomogne. nislim da ključnu ulogu u svemu tome mora da odigra Armija /JNA op.a/

Pratim ja ovdje, imam satelit, i u posljednjih petnaest dana pratim vlasti, ne sve, ali manje-više ljude koji tu Armiju jednom uspostavljaju Armiju koja je neprijateljska, drugi put je optužuju da nije reagovala kako itd.

Ja tvrdim i vjerujem da ta Armija još uvijek ima potencijala i snage da "ni po babu ni po stričevima" taj narod spase!

Ponavljam: mir je jedna ozbiljna konstrukcija!

Mir mora da se osvoji silom!

U protivnom, taj goloruki narod, u prostoru gdje jednostavno "gandi jevski" princip se ne prima, on mora tu vlast, koliko večeras, sutra da sruši!



5 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

They must take power into their own hands.

For if a hundred thousand people of all nationalities come out onto the streets of Sarajevo calling for peace, and then run for cover when fifteen people shoot at them from the rooftops, it will be the same for the next fifty or a hundred years.

There must be a revolution in our lives, a new way of living, and of course, together with the Yugoslav Federal Army, to make it possible for life to go ahead.

If we go on as we are now, it'll be a tragedy, the kind of bloodshed we have seen in South America.

Hadžifejzović: That was Emir Kusturica.

His viewpoint. From Paris. Lucky him.

8 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has just announced that the name of our country is to be changed from the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We began today's news broadcast in a country with one name, and while we have been broadcasting the news the country has acquired a new name.

I hope that there won't be any more changes before the end of the news!





l da uzme svoju vlast.

Jer, ako je sto hiljada ljudi svih nacionalnosti izašlo na ulice Sarajeva da traži mir, a onda zapuca petnaest ljudi sa krova i oni se razbježe, tako će biti narednih pedeset ili sto godina.

Prema tome, to mora da se revolucioniše u novi život i da naravno, potpomognuta Jugoslovenskom narodnom armijom uspostavi se jedna mogućnost "odvijanja života". Ovako, to će biti tragedija i kryoproliće kako znamo iz iskustva Južne Amerike..

Hadžifejzović: Bio je to Emir Kusturica.

Njegov stav. Iz Pariza. Blago njemu.

05. april 1992.

DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Predsjedništvo Socijalističke Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, upravo je saopštilo da se: ime naše države mijenja iz Socijalistička Republika BiH u Republika Bosna i Hercegovina!

Počeli smo ovaj Dnevnik u državi sa jednim imenom, u toku Dnevnika dobili smo drugo ime države!

Vjerujem da do kraja Dnevnika neće biti nekih novih promjena!



11 April 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: The line between disaster and cataclysm is a fine one; we are a mere step away. The critical areas are Zvornik, Foča, Sarajevo, Višegrad, Mostar, Modriča, and the whole of western Herzegovina...

Following a dramatic telephone conversation, via Radio Sarajevo, between Murat Šabanović, General Kukanjac and President Izetbegović, and numerous appeals, Šabanović has for the time being abandoned his intention of destroying the Višegrad hydroelectric power station.

Radio Sarajevo 1.45.p.m., Live broadcast

Izetbegović: Please, first of all, speak with General Kukanjac! Let General Kukanjac speak. He's on the line.

Kukanjac: Murat, can you hear me, Murat!

Murat Šabanović, a Bosniac from Višegrad, who has seized the hydroelectric power station at Višegrad:

I can hear you, I can hear you!

Kukanjac: Please don't do it! Don't do it, I beg you!

Sabanović: Well, tell Borko to stop bombing!

Kukanjac: Who is bombing?

Šabanović: Well, Borko!

Kukanjac: Which Borko?

Sabanović: Captain /Vojnić? - inaudible/. The Captain in Višegrad.

Kukanjac: We'll see; I was not aware of this.

Šaban! Šaban!...Murat!

Nobody is to target the dam, and there's no need for it.

Sabanović: There's no need to fire at this town either!

Kukanjac: If anyone does fire. . . but you, I beg of you, Murat!

Murat, stop this, there'll be a lot of innocent victims!









Hadžifejzović: Dijeli nas samo jedan korak od katastrofe do kataklizme. Krizna područja su Zvornik, Foča, Sarajevo, Višegrad, Mostar, Modriča, cijela zapadna Hercegovina...

Nakon dramatične telefonske veze preko Radio Sarajeva između Murata Šabanovića koji je namjeravao porušiti Hidroelektranu Višegrad, generala Kukanjca i predsjednika Izetbegovića, te nakon brojnih apela, Šabanović je, za sada, odustao od te namjere.

Radio Sarajevo, 13.45 sati, program uživo

Izetbegović: Prvo, obavite razgovor sa generalom Kukanjcem, molim vas!

Neka se general Kukanjac javi, imate vezu s njim!

Kukanjac: Murate, je li me čuješ, Murate!

Murat Šabanović, Bošnjak iz Višegrada koji je zauzeo Hidroelektranu Višegrad:

Čujem, čujem!

Kukanjac: Molim te, nemoj to raditi! Nemoj, ja te molim!

Šabanović: Pa, reci Borki da ne bombarduje!

Kukanjac: Ko bombarduje?

Šabanović: Pa, Borko!!!

Kukanjac: Koji Borko?!

Šabanović: Kapetan! /Vojnić, nerazgovijetno op.a./ Kapetan u Višegradu!!!

Kukanjac: To ćemo da vidimo, to mi nije poznato.

Šabane! Šabane!...Murate !!!

Ne može niko da gađa i ne treba niko da gađa branu!!!

Sabanović: Ne treba ni grad da gađaaa!!!

Kukanjac: Ako neko gađa... A, tebe molim, Murate!

Murate, ostavi to, stradaće mnogi nedužni narod!









Sabanović: Yes! But for the time being the only casualties are Muslims!

Kukanjac: Everyone's a casualty, unfortunately! Everyone! Everyone!

Let's put a stop to this, let's do all we can to see they don't die!

Sabanović: I know that I'll be a war criminal!

But you're a b'gger one!

You could have stopped all this three days ago!

You could have if you'd wanted to!

Kukanjac: I'm preventing any possible conflict!

Sabanović: In that case, order your side to stop firing!

Kukanjac: OK, fine, I'm going to try now...

Sabanović: Fuck your mother, General!

Give the order!

There's nothing to check out!

Thousands of people are watching this! That's right!

Kukanjac: Šaban!

Šabanović: Yes!

Kukanjac: I'm going to do it right now, and as for you, please, don't blow that dam!

Sabanović: I'm going to set the explosives!

If a shell lands, if a soldier comes near, it'll go sky high!

And if the dam goes up, Alija will no longer be for a citizens' Republic,

but Murat will be for jihad! It'll be total annihilation!

Kukanjac: Hey, Murat, don't do that!

Šabanović: Yes, yes!

Kukanjac: If nothing else, don't do this for the Muslims' sake!



Šabanović: Da! Ali sada samo stradaju Muslimani !!!

Kukanjac: Svi stradaju, nažalost! Svi stradaju! Svi stradaju! Da sprečimo, da činimo sve da ne stradaju!

Šabanović: Ja znam da ću biti ratni zločinac !!!

Ali, ti si vecećiii!!!

Ti si mogao da spriječiš prije tri dana ovoooo!!!

Ti si mogao da si htiooo!!!

Kukanjac: Ja sprečavam sve moguće sukobe!

Šabanović: Onda naredi da se ne puca iz kruga tvooo-gaaaaa!!!

Kukanjac: Dobro, evo sad ću da probam...

Šabanović: Jebem li ti maajkuuu, generaleee!!!

Narediiiiiii !!!

Nema šta provjeravatiii!!!

Hiljade građana gleda ovo!!! To je tačno !!!

Kukanjac: Šabane!

Šabanović: Molim!

Kukanjac: Ja ću odmah uraditi, a ti, molim te, nemoj tu branu puštati !!!

Šabanović: Eksploziv ću postaviti !!!

Ako padne granata, priđe vojnik blizu, ona lecetiiii !!!

A, ako poleti brana nije više Alija za građansku republiku, nego je Murat za džihad !!! Do istrebljenja !!!

Kukanjac: E, Murate, samo nemoj to raditi!

Šabanović: Da, da !!!

Kukanjac: Ako ništa, zbog Muslimana nemoj to raditi!



Sabanovic: It's all the same whether the Chetniks cut our throats or the Drina /river/ carries us away! You should be telling Arkan not to cut throats, not telling Murat not to blow the dam!

Kukanjac: I say let everyone get the hell out of it, and don't touch the people.

That goes for Arkan and all the others too.

Izetbegović: You stay there, but listen to me!

Don't do anything until further notice! Let's see if General Kukanjac keeps his word.

He's promised to stop the firing.

Murat, General Kukanjac has told you he'll give the order to stop firing.

And to stop the slaughter and terror.

Don't do anything! Don't do anything, Murat!

Listen to me. Stay there.

We'll see if General Kukanjac keeps his promises.

Šabanović: Comrade President!

I'm listening to you this time but I'll never obey you again if this promise is broken!

Izetbegović: If it's broken, they'll be responsible, not you!





Šabanović: Ili nas četnici poklali ili nas Drina odnijela, isto nam je !!! Reci Arkanu da ne kolje, a ne Muratu da ne diže branu !!!

Kukanjac: Ja svakome kažem neka se čisti, nek' ne dira narod.

l Arkanu i svima drugima.

Izetbegović: Ti budi tamo ali poslušaj me !

Nemoj ništa činiti do daljneg!

Da vidimo hoće li general Kukanjac održati riječ.

On je obećao da će obustaviti vatru.

Murate, tebi je sada general Kukanjac rekao da će narediti obustavu vatre.

l obustavu terora i obustavu klanja.

Nemoj ništa činiti! Nemoj ništa činiti, Murate!

Poslušaj me.

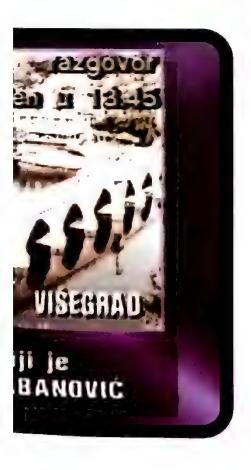
Ostani tu.

Vidjećemo hoće li general Kukanjac održati obećanje.

Šabanović: Druže Predsjedniče!

Ovo ću Vas još sada poslušati i nikad više ako se prekrši ovo!

Izetbegović: Ako se to prekrši, oni će to prekršiti, nisi ti prekršio ovo!...





Ljiljana Matić, reporter: We have the director of the hospital in Foča on the line, Doctor Reuf Tafro...

Dr. Reuf Tafro: We have been informed over the telephone that if the firing from the direction of the hospital doesn't stop, they'll target the hospital itself and raze it to the ground.

Matic: But who's been threatening you, who is targeting the hospital?

Dr. Tafro: We're being shelled, I don't know where from, to hell with them. . .

Matic: Are there any armed personnel actually in the hospital?

Dr. Tafro: Nobody. . . Our guard at the entrance. . .

We have five hundred sick people, and there's a lot of children, about two hundred, who've come from the town to take cover in the hospital . . .

Matic: Have you asked anyone for help? Any of the authorities?

Dr. Tafro: No. There are no authorities here any more.



Ljiljana Matić, reporter: Na telefonskoj liniji imamo direktora bolnice u Foči, doktora Reufa Tafru...

Dr. Reuf Tafro: Nama su javili telefonom da ukoliko se ne prestane pucati iz pravca bolnice, da će se pucati na bolnicu i da će je sravniti sa zemljom...

Matić: A ko vam je prijetio, ko puca na bolnicu?!

Dr. Tafro: Dolaze granate, ne znam odakle dolaze, vrag ih nosio...

Matić: Ima li nekog od naoružanih ljudi u samoj bolnici?

Dr. Tafro: Nema niko...naš stražar na kapiji...

lmamo pet stotina bolesnika, puno djece sklonjene, oko dvijestotine, koja su došla iz grada da nađu sklonište tu u bolnici...

Matić: Da li ste od nekoga tražili pomoć? Neki nadležni organ?

Dr. Tafro: Nismo. Ne postoji više nikakva vlast...



HadžifeJzović: We are receiving dramatic calls from Foča... We have here with us the Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Muhamed Čengić.

Why didn't you go to Foča?

Muhamed Čengić, Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

We didn't go because of the bad weather, it was raining and foggy. The helicopter couldn't take off, and we couldn't drive because it's not safe...

We can see that Foča is being hard-hit... I realize that even the hospital is under fire, and that there are Serbs and Muslims, women and children there.

As a Fočan and Deputy Prime Minister, I've been asking General Kukanjac to come with me and Deputy Prime Minister Simović...

Hadžifejzović: You and your colleague Simović are from Foča, but there are others in the Government, too, who are from Foča. Where are they?

Čengić: Yes. I don't know where Professor Maksimović is, or Minister Ostojić, or Čančar, Chair of the Municipal Council... If they are in Foča, they should bring together the people who are now fighting among themselves, who are making war, I mean.

There's no conflict that can't be resolved around the table.

What happened in Foča in 1941 must not happen again.

If it does, we'll need another 45 or 90 years for people to get to like one another again, both Serbs and Muslims. Believe me, people of Foča, you must I've together.

I sit with Simović, a Serb and a Muslim side by side; we sit next to each other in the same Government... When I was with General Kukanjac, he appealed to the Speaker of the Parliament /of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Momčilo/ Krajišnik to put a stop to all the fighting in Foča. And President Krajišnik promised he would.









Hadžifejzović: Dobijamo dramatične pozivc iz Foče... U programu je direktno potpredsjednik Vlade Bosne i Hercegovine Muhamed Čengić.

Zašto niste otišli u Foču?

Muhamed Čengić, potpredsjednik Vlade BiH:

Nismo otišli zbog loših vremenskih prilika, bila je kiša i magla, helikopter nije mogao poletjeti, kolima nismo mogli ići jer je nesigurno...

Vidimo da Foča strada...Vidim da strada i bolnica a u bolnici su i Srbi i Muslimani i djeca i žene... Ja sam molio generala Kukanjca, kao Fočak i potpredsjednik Vlade, da pođe sa mnom i potpredsjednikom Simovićem...

Hadžifejzović: Vi i Vaš kolega Simović ste iz Foče ali u Vladi ima još ljudi koji su iz Foče. Gdje su?

Čengić: Da. Ja ne znam gdje je profesor Maksimović, ministar Ostojić, kao ni Čančar, predsjednik Vijeća opština... Ako su u Foči trebalo bi da sastave ljude koji se sada međusobno tuku, odnosno ratuju.

Nema tog sukoba koji se ne može izgladiti za stolom.

Da se ne ponovi Foča iz 1941, godine.

Onda bi nam trebalo još 45 ili 90 godina da se ljudi ponovo vole, Srbi i Muslimani. Vjerujte, Fočaci vi morate zajedno živjeti.

Ja sjedim sa Simovićem, jedan do drugog, jedan je Srbin, jedan Musliman, sjedimo u istoj Vladi, stolica do stolice...

Kad sam bio kod generala Kukanjca, on je nazvao predsjednika Skupštine BiH Krajišnika /Momčila/ da u Foči prestane svaki sukob.

I obećao je predsjednik Krajišnik...













LIVE on the News, General Milutin Kukanjac of the JNA, on the telephone.

Hadžifejzović: 8:06 pm. We have with us live the Commanding Officer of the Second Army Region, General Milutin Kukanjac.

Good evening, General.

What's been going on today in Višegrad?

Kukanjac: Good evening.

The Army hasn't fired a shot in Višegrad! And Mr Alija Izetbegović should be ashamed of the attitude he took over the dam in Višegrad.

THAT'S ALL!

Hadžifejzović: Wait a minute! Who was firing, then?

Kukanjac: It was a showdown between paramilitary units. Izetbegović knows that too.

Hadžifejzović: Muhamed Čengić /Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ said a little while ago live on this programme that you are going to Foča with him tomorrow, to look into the situation. Will you be going to Foča?

Kukanjac: No! I've told Mr Čengić that I can't go to Foča. I can't be everywhere! I'll give them a Lieutenant-General, who was born in the Foča area.

Hadžifejzović: What do you think about the statement issued by the 'Serb defence forces of Sarajevo', who inform us that they will 'raze Sarajevo to the ground and destroy all the city's major facilities'.





(UŽIVO), telefonsko javljanje generala JNA Milutina Kukanjca

Hadžifejzović: 20 sati i 6 minuta. Uživo u programu imamo komandanta Druge armijske oblasti generala Milutina Kukanjca.

Dobro veče, generale!

Šta se danas dešavalo u Višegradu?

Kukanjac: Dobro veče!

Vojska nije pucala u Višegradu! A gospodinu Aliji Izetbegoviću neka je na čast na onakav odnos

naspram brane u Višegradu!

Eto toliko!!!

Hadžifejzović: Sačekajte! Ko je onda pucao?!

Kukanjac: To imaju paravojske obraćune međusobno! To zna i Izetbegović,

Hadžifejzović: Muhamed Čengić /potpredsjednik Vlade BiH, op.a./ je maloprije u programu uživo rekao da ćete ići s njim sutra u Foču da izvidite situaciju. Hoćete li ići u Foču?

Kukanjac: Neću! Ja gospodinu Čengiću kažem da ne mogu ići u Foču! Ja ne mogu svugde da stignem! Daću im ja jednog generalpotpukovnika koji je rođen oko te Foče!

Hadžifejzović: Šta kažete na saopštenje "Srpskih odbrambenih snaga Sarajeva" koje poručuju da će "Sarajevo sravniti sa zemljom i uništiti vitalne objekte u gradu".

Kukanjac: They're all paramilitaries. I don't know anything about any crisis headquarters. The sole Army is the Yugoslav Federal Armyl And this statement by the paramilitary Republic Headquarters of the Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it's nonsense!

Hadžifejzović: I'm sure you know that if there ever was such a thing as a true Yugoslavia, it was here and only here, in Bosnia.

You know that no nation in Yugoslavia has ever been on such good terms with the Yugoslav Army as these three Bosnian nations. I imagine that you know how much confidence these people had in the Yugoslav Federal Army.

These people are asking only one thing of you: to protect their lives!

Kukanjac: Ahhhh. . . Mr Hadžifejzović, I'm telling you in all honesty that we haven't attacked anybody anywhere. It's not us who set the people against us, but the /political/ parties. And, unfortunately, the Party of Democratic Action /SDA, the party of President Izetbegović/ holds the record for inventing all kinds of falsehoods about the Yugoslav Army.



Hadžifejzović: This raises the question whether you are sure or not that with one and the same military action you can both protect these people and put a stop to those who are attacking women, children, old people, and even pregnant women. Pregnant women!

Kukanjac: You know, all this has to be verified. You have to know how to handle the truth. The main strength lies with the parties, and they can play the leading role. The parties have paramilitary units: some stronger, others weaker, some better equipped, some less so.

The Yugoslav Army isn't all-powerful. I'm not inventing this, we were attacked by SDA forces!

Hadžifejzović: OK, this means that the JNA won't take any steps to stop the 'Serb liberation forces' from threatening Sarajevo, even though we've got this warning with their fax number and their official stamp...

Kukanjac: I'll have to check this out first. It was important for me to be on the news. Goodbye.

Hadžifejzović (later): We've just received a denial from the Serb News Agency, SRNA, that the 'Serb liberation forces' plan to raze Sarajevo to the ground.

We informed them that we received the information from TANJUG.

Here, you can see the original text of this agency news. It must be that there's no coordination between SRNA and TANJUG...

Here in the studio, live, is our colleague Dubravka Kenić, who will confirm this. . .

Dubravka Kenić: Yes! It's lucky the news is open even to denials. Now I'm going to talk about the economy...

Hadžifejzović: Yes, if this war doesn't finish us off completely, then the economy certainly will...

11. april 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Kukanjac: Sve su to paravojske. Ja nemam pojma ni o jednom kriznom štabu. Jedina vojska je Jugoslovenska narodna armija! I, to saopštenje paravojnog, Republičkog štaba Teritorijalne odbrane BiH, to je glupost!

Hadžifejzović: Ja sam siguran da znate da ako je ikada bilo prave Jugoslavije, da je ona živjela samo ovdje, u Bosni.

Vi znate da nijedan narod u Jugoslaviji nije imao takav odnos prema Jugoslovenskoj armiji kao ova tri bosanska. Pretpostavljam da znate koliko su oni povjerenja imali u tu Jugoslovensku narodnu armiju.

Ti narodi od Vas traže samo ono najosnovnije: zaštitu njihovih života!

Kukanjac: Aaaaa... Gospodine Hadžifejzoviću, ja najiskrenije kažem da nigdje nikoga nismo napali. Mi nismo zavadili te narode već stranke. 1, nažalost, Stranka demokratske akcije je rekorder po izmišljanju raznih neistina prema Jugoslovenskoj armiji.

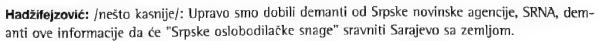
Hadžifejzović: Postavlja se to pitanje: hoćete-nećete ali je sigurno da možete jednom vojnom akcijom zaštititi ove ljude i onemogućiti one koji napadaju žene, djecu, starce, čak i trudnice. Trudnice!!!

Kukanjac: Znate, to sve treba provjeriti. Treba baratati sa istinama. Glavna snaga je u strankama i one mogu odigrati glavnu ulogu. Stranke imaju paravojske: neko jaču, neko slabiju, neko bolje opremljenu, neko loše!

Jugoslovenska armija nije svemoćna. Ja ne izmišljam, nas napadaju snage SDA!

Hadžifejzović: Dobro, znači JNA neće ništa poduzeti da spriječi akciju tih "Srpskih oslobodilačkih snaga" koje prijete Sarajevu iako mi imamo ovo upozorenje sa brojem njihovog faksa i sa njihovim pečatom...

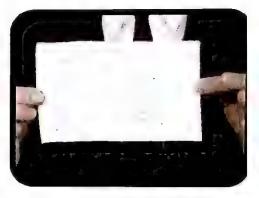
Kukanjac: Ja to prvo moram da provjerim. Bilo je važno da sam se uključio. Doviđenja.



Mi im poručujemo da je tu informaciju nama proslijedio TANJUG! Evo, pogledajte originalni tekst te agencijske vijesti. Mora da SRNA i TANJUG ne koordiniraju... Evo, tu je u studiju, u programu uživo, kolegica Dubravka Kenić, koja će ovo potvrditi...

Dubravka Kenić: Da ! Sva sreća što je Dnevnik otvoren pa i za demantije. Ja ću sada govoriti o ekonomiji...

Hadžifejzović: Da, ako nas ovaj rat ne dokusuri, onda će ekonomija to sigurno učiniti...





14 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

14. april 1992.

DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO)

The peasant war in the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues.

It's being fought with shells, submachine guns, bombs.

There's a frenzied propaganda war being waged.

Today snells have been landing around the Radio-Television Centre.

So the majority of our fellow journalists have for the first time been RIGHT AT THE SOURCE of the news

Seljački rat u gradovima BiH se nastavlja. Vodi se granatama, automatima, bombama. Vodi se bjesomučan propagandni rat.

Danas su padale granate oko radio-televizijskog doma.
Tako je većina naših kolega, novinara prvi put bila "NA IZVORU" INFORMACIJA"...

14. april 1992.

DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

14 April 1992 NEWS TV SARAJEVO

Two news items have just come in: The TANJUG offices in the centre of Sarajevo have been demolished. Two journalists from Independent Televi-

The perpetrators of these two crimes belong to the same nation – they're Neanderthals!

sion Hayat have been kidnapped.

Upravo su prispjele dvije informacije: Prostorije TANJUG-a u sred Sarajeva su demolirane.

Oteta su dva novinara Neovisne televizije Hayat.

Počinioci oba nedjela su pripadnici iste nacije – primitivci!





LIVE on the News, Karadžić and Izetbegović. 'FIRST CEASEFIRE'

Hadžifejzović: A colleague from the control room is telling me that we have Radovan Karadžić, President of the Serbian Democratic Party, on the line direct from Pale, where the people from his Party are based.

Good evening.

Karadžić: Good evening. I'm glad I'm able to be on air from time to time so I can inform the public about a few things.

I have to say that the terror is continuing in Sarajevo, people are being arrested and apartments broken into. Vid Bosiljčić and Ognjen Kravljača were arrested a few hours ago, and Šehovac Marinka's apartment was broken into... What's happening is exactly the same as what we had with Pavelić in 1941.

It wouldn't be good at all if 1992 were to become associated with some official from the senior Muslim leadership... Here we're swamped by refugees and people with complaints. We can see perfectly well what's going on...

Anyone who can is opening fire with the sole intention of justifying the creation of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We've got the original documents planning the immediate formation of a very powerful Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is to attack the enemy, and it's the JNA and territorials from the Serb autonomous regions that have been designated as the enemy. We aren't responsible for any of this.

I think we're on the verge of disaster as a result of the general call-up that was proclaimed on the 4th of this month... I'd like to tell the citizens of Sarajevo that we've succeeded in bringing things





(UŽIVO) Uključenje Karadžića i Izetbegovića u Dnevnik. - "Prvo primirje"

Hadžifejzović: Evo, kolege iz režije mi javljaju da na direktnoj telefonskoj liniji sa Palama, gdje su smješteni ljudi iz Srpske demokratske stranke, imamo Radovana Karadžića, predsjednika ove stranke. Dobro veče.

Karadžić: Dobro veče. Drago mi je što povremeno mogu da se uključim i obavijestim javnost o nekim stvarima.

Moram da kažem da u Sarajevu i dalje vlada teror, hapse se ljudi i obijaju stanovi. Uhapšen je prije nekolka sata Vid Bosiljčić, Ognjen Kravljača, obijen stan Šehovac Marinka... Dešavaju se stvari koje nas potpuno podsjećaju na jedan kontinuitet sa Pavelićem iz 1941. godine.

Ne bi nikako bilo dobro da se 1992. godina pripiše nekom od funkcionera iz vrha muslimanskog vođstva... Mi smo ovdje zatrpani zbjegovima i žalbama građana. Mi smo sa punim uvidom šta se zbiva...

Puca ko stigne i isključivo u namjeri da se opravda stvaranje BH vojske. Imamo dokument, originalni, u kojem se predviđa stvaranje veoma snažne BH vojske, i to odmah, i ona treba da napadne neprijatelja koji je označen kao JNA i kao teritorijalci srpskih autonomnih oblasti. Za sve ovo mi ne snosimo nikakvu odgovornost.

Mislim da se primičemo katastrofi koju je uvela opšta mobilizacija koja je proglašena četvrtog ovog mjeseca... Želim da kažem građanima Sarajeva da smo uspjeli, ono što smo stavili pod kontrolu, da zaustavimo bilo kakvo slanje mina na Sarajevo, međutim, dešava se da puca ko stigne...

...Ukoliko gospodin lzetbegović ozbiljno misli o prekidu vatre, on mora večeras da smijeni pukovnika Efendića! /Efendić, komandant TOBiH, op.a./. U telefaksu Efendića jasno stoji da se oni

under control, in putting a stop to the bombardment of Sarajevo, but there are occurrences of exchanges of fire when people get the chance. .

...If Mr Izetbegović is thinking seriously about a cease-fire, he must dismiss Colonel Efendić /Commanding Officer of the Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ this very evening. Efendić's fax explicitly says that they're fighting for a unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina!

THERE'S NO SUCH THING AS A UNITARY BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA!

The country's without any government... The Serbs in the Government do not represent all Serbs... There is no one who can create a unitary Bosnia and Herzegovina in a peaceful fashion! Yugoslavia couldn't hold together as a unitary state, and nor can Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hadžifejzović: I have let you have your say.

I must ask you now, from Sarajevo, since it's a long time since you left for Pale. Much depends on you; much is 'n your hands. We are being shelled, here around the Radio-Television Centre and all around town.

Can you tell us if you are in favour of peace?

If so, what kind of peace?

Is peace possible?

It's not fear that's prompting my question...

Karadžić: The first step to be taken for peace is demobilization! The call-up must be suspended.

Hadžifejzović: What about the demobilization of armed people with Serb designations, such as Serb volunteers, Serb territorial units, volunteers from Montenegro, Serbia and the various paramilitary units from Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro?

Karadžić: And isn't there anyone from Croatia in Bosnia?

Hadžifejzović: Yes, from Croatia as well, of course.

Karadžić: Just let me say something, by way of example of what the two of us are talking about, on the extent to which BH Television, Sarajevo Television distort the facts. First, you said that I went to Pale a long time ago. I reached Pale this morning at 4 a.m.! I'm in Sarajevo every day, as is the entire Serb leadership

And second, tell me how many non-Muslim correspondents you have reporting from the Drina, and how many from Bosnia and Herzegovina who are Serbs, and who are objective?

Hadžifejzović: Mr Karadžić, it is true that we are in favour of a unitary television station, but given the situation, we are ready, if need be, if it costs us our jobs, our careers, even the food in our mouths, to go a ong with whatever the ruling parties agree, for the sake of peace.

Let's not get sidetracked by issues about our correspondents. Tell me about your peace proposals.

Karadžić: The people can't be disarmed, but they can be demobilized. Let them stay at home, let's have mixed patrols. There should be Serb police from the Ministry of the Interior and the JNA in Serb areas, and a Muslim.

Ministry of the Interior and Muslims from the JNA in Muslim areas.

Hadžifejzović: What are you offering? To involve the JNA? What are you offering your partners in government? What are you offering the opposition?



bore za jedinstvenu Bosnu 1 Hercegovinu!

JEDINSTVENE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE NEMA !!!

Vlast ne postoji...Ti Srbi u Vladi ne predstavljaju Srbe... Nema toga koji na miran način može stvoriti unitarnu BiH!

Nije mogla biti ni Jugoslavija unitarna, ne može biti ni BiH !!!

Hadžifejzović: Ja sam Vam dozvolio da kažete sve što želite da kažete.

Moram da Vas pitam, odavde iz Sarajeva, jer ste odavno otišli gore na Pale. Mnogo toga zavisi od Vas. Mnogo toga je u Vašim rukama. Mi ovdje trpimo granate koje padaju po radiotelevizijskom domu i gradu.

Možete li nam reći jeste li Vi za mir?

Kakav mir?

Je li mir moguć?

Pitam Vas to, ne iz straha...

Karadžić: Prva mjera za mir je demobilizacija! Suspenzija mobilizacije.

Hadžifejzović: Šta je sa demobilizacijom naoružanih ljudi koji nose srpske nazive: srpski dobrovoljci, srpski teritorijalci, dobrovoljci iz Crne Gore, Srbije i razne paravojne formacije iz Srbije, Bosne i Crne Gore?

Karadžić: A iz Hrvatske nema nikoga u Bosni, jel' da?

Hadžifejzović: Da. 1 iz Hrvatske, naravno.

Karadžić: Samo da Vam kažem na primjeru ovoga o čemu razgovaramo nas dvojica koliko je bosanskohercegovačka televizija, Televizija Sarajevo, nekorektna. Prvo ste Vi rekli da sam ja odavno otišao na Pale. Ja sam jutros u četiri došao na Pale! Ja sam svaki dan u Sarajevu kao i kompletno srpsko rukovodstvo.

A, drugo, recite mi koliko dopisnika imate sa Drine koji nisu Muslimani i koliko imate dopisnika iz BiH koji su Srbi i koji su objektivni?

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine Karadžiću, mi jesmo za jedinstvenu televiziju ali smo spremni da ako treba po cijenu i našeg posla i naših karijera i hljeba na kraju krajeva, u ovoj situaciji, zbog mira, slijedimo dogovore stranaka na vlasti.

Da se ne zavlačimo oko pitanja o dopisnicima. Recite, koji su Vaši mirovni prijedlozi?

Karadžić: Narod se ne može razoružati ali se može demobilisati i neka ostane u kućama, neka postoje mješovite patrole.

U srpskim krajevima srpski MUP i JNA!

U muslimanskim krajevima muslimanski MUP i JNA!

Hadžifejzović: Šta nudite? Da se JNA uključi? Šta nudite Vašim partnerima u vlasti? Šta nudite opoziciji?

Očigledno je da su srpske snage u ovom momentu naoružanije i spremnije za rat od onih



14 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

It's obvious that at present the Serb forces are more heavily armed and better prepared for war than those whose role is to defend Bosnia and Herzegovina and its towns.

I would also ask you, Mr Karadžić, as well as the leaders of the other national parties, not to lump all the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims together under a single national umbrella of national parties. I assure you, as you yourself well know, that there will certainly be no winners in this war!

There will be a lot of blood.

And what hurts me the most, a lot of children will be killed or driven from their homes.

Please propose a peace-meeting: when, where and how?

Karadžić: I appreciate this greatly. Don't fall into the trap of national parties. I beg you to bring peace first of all to Sarajevo, and then to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hadžifejzović: Please use Sarajevo Television News to appeal to the people under your command, and to those over whom you have some influence, to introduce a ceasefire at midnight tonight.

We are talking about one thing, but meanwhile, news is just coming in from the Serb News Agency, SRNA, direct from Pale, that members of the SDS /Serbian Democratic Party, Karadžić's party/ in Ilidža and Novo Sarajevo /outer municipalities of the city of Sarajevo/ are being called up, called on to mobilize.

Karadžić: Look, let this be a public announcement: let all firing, all troop movements, cease at midnight tonight!

Hadžifejzović: So you are calling on all Serb forces and all Serb volunteers to stop firing in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Sarajevo at midnight tonight?

Karadžić: And this also applies, of course, to everyone who is opposing them. Everyone must stay where they are, and stop firing!

Hadžifejzović: Let me tell you something, Mr Karadžić.

These days, in Sarajevo, there are Serb families in Muslim houses, Muslims in Croats', Croats in both Muslim and Serb houses...

Karadžić: That was how it was, UNFORTUNATELY, in 1941 too!

Hadžifejzović: That was how it was, FORTUNATELY, in 1941 too!

Karadžić: We know how it ended in 1941. It would be a bad thing if it were to end that way in 1992 as well.

Thank you for having me take part in this programme.

Hadžifejzović: We will hold you to your word, Mr Karadžić!

Hadžifejzović /a little later/: We have the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, on the line.

Good evening, Mr President.

Izetbegović: I wish you a good evening. I am calling about Mr Radovan Karadžić's statement. Everybody knows, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina know, that Bosnia and Herzegovina was relasnaga koje su u funkciji odbrane BiH i njenih gradova.

l, ja bih Vas, gospodine Karadžiću, zamolio, a i ostale koji vode nacionalne stranke, da ne stavljaju pod jedan nacionalni plašt nacionalnih stranaka sve Srbe, sve Hrvate, sve Muslimane.

Ja Vas uvjeravam, a Vi to dobro znate, da u ovom ratu sigurno neće biti pobjednika! Biće mnogo krvi.

Biće mnogo, što me najviše boli, prognane i mrtve djece.

Dajte, molim Vas, predložite mirovni sastanak: kada, gdje i kako?

Karadžić: Ja to veoma cijenim. Nemojte upadati u zamku o nacionalnim strankama. Ja Vas molim da se prije svega uvede mir, prvo u Sarajevu, a onda u BiH.

Hadžifejzović: Dajte, pozovite putem Dnevnika Televizije Sarajevo ljude koji su pod Vašom kontrolom, ljude na koje imate moć da utičete da večeras u ponoć stupi primirje!!!

Govorimo o jednom a evo, upravo mi od Srpske novinske agencije, SRNA, dolazi informacija, upravo sa Pala, da se na mobilizaciju pozivaju članovi Srpske demokratske stranke na Ilidži, Novom Sarajevu!

Karadžić: Evo, neka ovo bude javni poziv: da noćas u ponoć prestane svako pucanje, svako pregrupisavanje snaga!

Hadžifejzović: Dakle, Vi pozivate sve srpske snage i sve srpske dobrovoljce da večeras u ponoć prestanu sa pucanjem u BiH i Sarajevu!

Karadžić: 1 naravno sve one koji su njima suprotstavljeni. Svi moraju da stanu tamo gdje se nalaze i da obustave vatru!

Hadžifejzović: Da Vam kažem nešto, gospodine Karadžiću.

U Sarajevu su ovih dana srpske porodice u muslimanskim kućama, muslimanske u hrvatskim, hrvatske i u muslimanskim i u srpskim...

Karadžić: Tako je NAŽALOST bilo i 1941. godine !!!

Hadžifejzović: Tako je NASREĆU bilo i 1941. godine !!!

Karadžić: Znamo kako je završilo 1941. godine. Ne bi valjalo da se tako završi i 1992. godine. Hvala Vam na uključenju u program!

Hadžifejzović: Držimo Vas za riječ, gospodine Karadžiću!

Hadžifejzović /nešto kasnije/: Evo, imamo na telefonskoj liniji predsjednika Predsjedništva BiH Aliju lzetbegovića.

Dobro veče, predsjedniče.

Izetbegović: Dobro veče želim. Javljam se u vezi sa izjavom gospodina Radovana Karadžića.

Svi znaju, građani Bosne i Hercegovine znaju, da je BiH bila relativno mirna do prije petnaest-dvadeset dana, do napada na Bijeljinu i do ove ofanzive koja je počela iz istočne Hercegovine prema zapadu. Nakon toga zapalila se cijela BiH i valjda je svima jasno kako je taj napad počeo.

14 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

tively peaceful until two or three weeks ago, until the attack on Bijeljina, and this westwards offensive that began in Eastern Herzegovina. After that, the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina flared up, and I imagine it is obvious to everyone how this offensive began.

We, the people of Sarajevo, know very well who's attacking and who's mounting the defence here! It's the same in Bije jina, Zvornik, Višegrad, Foča, in Stolac and in Duvno...

However, this isn't the time to go into who is responsible for this war!

In the light of Mr Radovan Karadžić's saying he is ready to halt all action from his side tonight, though, this is my message:

I am not the commanding officer of any unit, as you know. But I am the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of the National Defence Council, and in this capacity I ORDER all who are willing to follow my orders to stop firing forthwith, wherever they can hear me, and by midnight tonight at the latest!

Hadžifejzović: You are a man who is known for advocating a peaceful resolution to the Yugoslav and Bosnian crisis.

Do you have sufficient will, nerve and strength to take steps to form a new government, to convene Parliament, and to enter into dialogue with your partners in power?

Izetbegović: These are two different issues. One issue is to establish peace, and I am calling on Mr Karadž'ć to begin cease-fire talks, as early as tomorrow if he so wishes and wherever he wants. If he is sincere about getting talks under way. As for a political solution, the restructuring of the government is under way. We are trying to convene Parliament, though it is very difficult in conditions of war.

I want to make it clear that as far as I am concerned, and to the extent that I am able, I am ready to end the war and to come to an agreement that would be satisfactory for all of us. These are the two issues. One is purely military, and the other is political.

I am making a public appeal, here and now, to Mr Karadžić to respond to my message. Is he ready to begin talks of this kind tomorrow, on condition that there is a ceasefire?

I am afraid someone may stage an attack on the Army!

We have absolutely no reason to attack the Army!

Hadžifejzović: The leaders have given their word that there will be a ceasefire. We are holding them to their word!

Author's note: There really was a cease-fire. It lasted two days, and some of the Sarajevo media called it 'Senad's cease-fire'.





Građani Sarajeva, dobro znaju ko ovdje napada a ko se brani!

lsti je slučaj u Bijeljini, Zvorniku, Višegradu, Foči i u Stocu i Duvnu...

Međutim, nije trenutak da ispitujemo ko je kriv za rat!

Ali, s obzirom na to da je gospodin Radovan Karadžić izrazio spremnost da obustavi sva dejstva večeras sa svoje strane, evo, ja ovdje, poručujem:

Ja nisam komandant nikakvih jedinica, znate. Ali sam predsjednik Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine i predsjednik Savjeta za narodnu odbranu i u tom svojstvu svima onima koji hoće da me poslušaju, NAREĐUJEM da momentalno obustave vatru gdje god me čuju, a obavezno večeras u ponoć!

Hadžifejzović: Vi ste čovjek koji je poznat kao zagovornik mirnog rješenja jugoslovenske i bosanske krize.

lmate li toliko volje i nerava i snage da učinite korake ka formiranju nove vlade, okupljanju parlamenta i dijalogu sa partnerima u vlasti?

Izetbegović: To su dva različita posla. Jedno je pitanje da se uspostavi mir i ja gospodina Karadžića pozivam već sutra, ako hoće-gdje god hoće, da te razgovore o obustavi vatre počnemo. Ako je iskren da te razgovore počne.

Što se tiče političkog rješenja, rekonstrukcija vlade je u toku. Pokušavamo, što je teško u ratnim okolnostima, da skupimo Skupštinu.

Hoću da izjavim da sam spreman, što se mene lično tiče i koliko mogu, da se obustavi rat i da se dođe do dogovora koji bi zadovoljio sviju.

To su te dvije formule. Jedno čisto vojno pitanje, drugo političko.

Evo, ja sada upućujem javni poziv gospodinu Karadžiću da se odazove. Je li spreman da sutra započne takve razgovore, pod uvjetom da se vatra obustavi?

Bojim se simuliranog napada na Armiju!

Mi nemamo nikakvog razloga da napadnemo Armiju!

Hadžifejzović: Imamo zadatu riječ vodećih ljudi da će vatra biti obustavljena. Držimo ih za riječ!

Napomena autora: Primirje se zaista desilo. Trajalo je dva dana i neki sarajevski mediji su ga nazvali "Senadovo primirje".





17 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

For the first time since Walter, Sarajevo has been defended by a Portuguese and an American.

The presence of Cutileiro and Vance ensured two days of peace.

Their departure has been celebrated by salvoes of machine-gun fire in the city!

17 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

In the midst of the chaos of war, news has come in that the Partisans' basketball club have won the European Championship.

Congratulations on this victory.

It's a long time since the Partisans won.

20 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

COMMENTARY by the writer Abdulah Sidran on the luminaries of Sarajevo.

Hadžifejzović: Cultural and public workers are coming under a lot of pressure from all quarters, as are journalists, to get off the fence; they are being told they must or should opt for one side or the other. They are criticized for being indolent, and for having either taken cover or escaped from Sarajevo.

It has to be said that before the war, all these people did everything in their power to avoid war breaking out, and when it all began they were caught out, as were most of the people of this city and this country. This evening, Abdulah Sidran reflects...

Abdulah Sidran, writer: A great Croatian, Yugoslav, and Belgrade actress, Mira Furlan, is currently living in exile in America. She was proclaimed a traitor, simply because during the Serbo-Croat war in Croatia she kept to the terms of her professional contract and lived her private life in Belgrade.

After a horrific media campaign of terror, phone threats and blackmail, she packed her bags and crossed the ocean.

Do the political divisions and horrors of war have to destroy all our essential, professional, and private relationships and ties? In opting to emigrate, the great actress gave her own answer, a decisive NO!

The 'war finals', in which - as the cynical aphorism has it - Bosnia and Herzegovina gained a 'direct place', are exposing even us, here and now, to the toughest moral and intellectual tests of conscience and reason. There are now dozens of local cultural and public workers who are in the same situation as that of the great actress.

One commentator noted, with exceptional lucidity, that among those who are ordering the bombardment of Sarajevo are a number of intellectuals who received from Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with apartments and numerous trips abroad, the most prestigious state awards: the 6th April Award of the city of Sarajevo, the 27th July Award, and the ZAVNOBIH award.

In other words, Sarajevo is under attack by those who have received everything from it, and being defended by those who have received little or nothing.

17. april 1992.

DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Prvi put, nakon Valtera Sarajevo su branili jedan Portugalac i jedan Amerikanac.

Prisustvo Kutiljera i Vensa garantiralo je dva mirna dana.

Njihov odlazak proslavljen je paljbom po gradu.

17. april 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

U ratnom haosu dolazi sportska informacija da je Košarkaški klub "Partizan" postao evropski prvak. Čestitamo na pobjedi.

Partizani odavno nisu pobijedili.

20. april 1992.

DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

(Komentar) Abdulah Sidran, književnik, o sarajevskim genijalcima.

Hadžifejzović: Ima mnogo pritisaka sa svih strana na kulturne, javne radnike, novinare da se moraju ili trebaju staviti na ovu ili onu stranu. Zamjera im se na indolentnosti, prigovara što su se sklonili ili pobjegli iz Sarajeva.

Mora se reći da su svi ti ljudi prije ovoga rata učinili sve što je bilo u njihovoj moći da do ovoga rata ne dođe, a kada je sve počelo bili su zatečeni kao i većina građana. Večeras razmišlja Abdulah Sidran.

Abdulah Sidran, književnik: U izbjeglištvu u Americi, nalazi se danas velika hrvatska, jugoslovenska i beogradska glumica Mira Furlan, proglašena za nacionalnog izdajicu zbog puke činjenice da je u vrijeme srpsko-hrvatskog rata u Hrvatskoj odrađivala svoj profesionalni ugovor i živjela svoj intimni život u Beogradu.

Nakon monstruoznog medijskog terora, telefonskih prijetnji i ucjena, spakovala je svoj životni prtljag i otišla preko okeana.

Moraju li političke diobe i ratne strahote uništiti sve naše suštinske, profesionalne i intimne veze i odnose? Odabravši emigraciju, velika glumica je kazala svoje odlučno NE!

"Ratno finale" u koje se Bosna i Hercegovina, prema onom ciničnom aforizmu, "plasirala direktno" izlaže i nas danas i ovdje najtežim moralnim i intelektualnim ispitima savjesti i pameti. U poziciji u kojoj je bila velika glumica nalaze se danas desetine ovdašnjih kulturnih i javnih radnika.

Jedan je komentator izvanredno lucidno uočio da se među onima koji komanduju raketiranjem Sarajeva nalazi nekolicina intelektualaca koji su od ove države, Bosne i Hercegovine, uz stanove i brojne boravke po inostranstvima, dobili njena najznačajnija državna priznanja: Šestoaprilsku nagradu grada Sarajeva, Dvadesetsedmojulsku nagradu i nagradu ZAVNOBiH-a.

Sarajevo, dakle, napadaju oni koji su od njega dobili sve, Sarajevo brane oni koji su najmanje dobili ili nikada nisu dobili ništa.

And when he had to single out those 'Pale' names, the commentator lashed out at three of our most significant people in their respective professions. You will recognize them as Goran Bregović, Emir Kusturica and Ivica Osim. These are people who have done more for the Bosnian identity than all the political parties and proclamations, all the leaders, and their agendas, put together.

The sense of being Yugoslav, which is true of all three of them – why not call them luminaries – is thus equated with the criminal instincts of those who are issuing orders from Pale.

This is how those who left their jobs and their places of work to take over the running of the vilest possible war are equated with those who continued to do the work that they know best in the same place they were when that war broke out.

Just as we must constantly remind the population to abstain from any form of revenge, we must also ask the commentators on these tragic events to restrain themselves from inciting the people against our best and finest.





l kada je trebalo da prozove ta "paljanska imena", komentator se okomio poimenice na trojicu naših u svojim strukama, najznačajnijih ljudi. Prepoznaćete, riječ je o Goranu Bregoviću, Emiru Kusturici i Ivici Osimu. O ljudima, dakle, koji su za identitet bosanskoga bića zaslužniji od svake političke stranke i proklamacije, od svakog političkog lidera i programa.

Osjećanje jugoslovenstva svojstveno sve trojici, zašto da ne kažemo, genijalaca tako biva izjednačeno sa zločinačkim instinktom paljanskih naredbodavaca.

Bivaju tako izjednačeni oni koji su ostavili svoje poslove i radna mjesta, preuzevši ruko vođenje najprljavijim mogućim ratom, sa onima koji su tamo gdje su se zatekli nastavili da rade poslove koje najbolje znaju da rade.

Kao što stanovništvo neprekidno moramo opominjati da spriječi svaki oblik revanšizma tako i komentatore ovih tragičnih zbivanja moramo zamoliti da se uzdrže od huškanja narodnog raspoloženja protiv najboljih ljudi koje imamo.



LIVE on the News, movie director Emir Kusturica in Paris

Hadžifejzović: We have Paris on the line. Emir Kusturica is there. Good evening, Kusta. There is an article of yours in today's Le Monde.

Kusturica: Good evening.

Much that is happening over there is unclear both to me and to others living abroad.

The article is a cry for help to stop the bombardment of Sarajevo, so that the city may once again begin to live the way it did before.

Hadžifejzović: It won't be so easy.

Kusturica: I know, seeing things from here, that hate has clouded people's vision.

One loses one's perspective in the smoke.

When one lives abroad, one's vision becomes misty.

Every time I call Sarajevo, it ends with my cousins, or my loved ones, in tears.

I'm speaking out, even though in the terms of my contract I am required to say nothing and to work. But how can I remain silent while people are dying, children are crying, and the city is ceasing to be! I wish I'd kept quiet from the start. My friends say 't would have been wiser.

When people remain silent, as long as they are not malefactors, and I can see that some people in my city regard me as a malefactor, when people remain silent, then, they are conniving in evi.!

It is clear to me that when the guns are speaking, words haven't the same power as when the guns are silent. During the elections, we issued a chorus of warnings of impending chaos.

Hadžifejzović: Even though we have no weapons in our hands, there is still a chance of putting a stop to this conflict in Sarajevo and in Bosnia.

But in this atmosphere of chaos, the people of Sarajevo are dubious about these battles of words that you and others are conducting around the world.

Kusturica: As you know, all my life I've experienced both love and hate in my native city; but I won't give up!

Faye Dunaway, Johnny Depp, and Tom Cruise are going to tell the people of Sarajevo on TV that they share their pain!

Even they know that shells are landing on Sarajevo!

Even they know that these are the acts of desperate people, of barbaric and contemptible people! I told them that even in Sarajevo there are new Sarajevans who would gladly scalp me, Brega, and Ivica Osim, by 'remote control'!

I guess that we are to blame for not dying from the first bullets fired, and because we were helping with appeals.









(UŽIVO) Uključenje u Dnevnik filmskog režisera Emira Kusturice iz Pariza

Hadžifejzović: Na direktnoj telefonskoj liniji imamo Pariz.

Tamo je Emir Kusturica. Dobro veče, Kusta. Danas je Le Mond objavio jedan tvoj tekst.

Kusturica: Dobro veče.

Nama, meni, koji živimo vani mnoge stvari koje se tamo dešavaju nisu jasne. Taj tekst je vapaj da prestane bombardovanje Sarajeva i da taj grad počne da živi kako je živio ranije.

Hadžifeizović: Biće malo teže.

Kusturica: Ja znam, gledajući odavde, da je mržnja zamaglila pogled.

Perpsektiva se gubi u dimu.

Kad čovjek živi vani, zamagli mu se pogled.

Svaki razgovor koji vodim sa Sarajevom završava plačem rođaka, dragih ljudi

Ja se javljam, iako ugovor me obavezuje da ja šutim i radim.

Ali, ja da šutim dok ljudi stradaju, djeca plaču, grad nestaje!

Da sam šutio od početka-mudrije je-kažu moji prijatelji.

Kad ljudi šute, pod uvjetom da nisu zlikovci, a vidim mene u mom gradu

neki ljudi takvim smatraju, kad ljudi šute, oni odobravaju zlo!

Meni je jasno, kad topovi govore, riječi nemaju snagu kao kad su topovi šutjeli.

Mi smo u vrijeme izbora, horski upozoravali na haos.

Hadžifejzović: U rukama nas, koji u rukama nemamo oružje, ipak je mogućnost da pokušamo da zaustavimo ovo u Sarajevu i Bosni.

No, Sarajlije su u ovom haosu sumnjičave naspram tih verbalnih akcija koje ti i ostali vodite po svijetu.

Kusturica: Ja sam, znaš kako, ja sam u svom rodnom gradu doživljavao ljubav i mržnju otkako sam postojao, ali ja ne stajem!

Fey Danavej, Johnny Deep, Tom Cruise obratiće se preko TV Sarajlijama i reći im da dijele njihovu bol!

Čak i oni znaju da granate padaju na Sarajevo!

Čak i oni znaju da su to potezi očajnika i divljaka i bijednika!!!

Ja sam im rekao da i u Sarajevu ima tih novih Sarajlija koji bi na "daljinski" skinuli skalp Bregi, meni i Ivici Osimu!

Valjda smo mi krivi što nismo poginuli od prvih metaka i što smo apelima pomagali?!









My appeals to the Army /JNA/ to prevent this happening in Bosnia, as I see it as someone who left four years ago, might seem mistaken to some. However, I believed that the JNA could stop all this. I can see that Cyrus Vance believed the same thing too.

I hear some bigwig attacked us on TV.

Why doesn't he have a go at Vance, or come to Paris?

We must do all we can to stop the bombardment of Sarajevo, and to ensure that our city remains our city!

I will never give up Sarajevo!

I see that the house of my grandfather, Hakija Numankadić, was totally destroyed the day before yesterday.

I simply couldn't believe, from this d'stance, that barbarians nave been shelling my city for two weeks! I take this opportunity to ask Mr Karadžić, who I believe can hardly call me anti-Serb, to use his influence over these contemptible desperadoes to stop shelling my city.

After all, it must be obvious to everyone that it's the Muslims who are climbing the hills of Sarajevo in order to destroy their own houses from above.

That's all I have to say...

29 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

We have just received a fax, a copy from the SRNA agency of their sensational revelation that the Headquarters of the Territorial Defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has declared war on the Yugoslav Federal Army!

We have just spoken with Commander Efendic, who has stated that this information is false.

In any case, it's easy to declare war, but given the situation, the question is WHAT WITH!

29 April 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

A year ago Branko Kostić /member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia/ said, as though he were a great visionary: if necessary, we'll even eat roots!

At today's negotiations in Skopje he had a glass of champagne, and we are the ones who are eating roots. On the menu today we had nettles!

If it weren't that this is a serious news programme, and if I were the type, what I'd most like to do right now is utter a few swearwords.

23. april 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Moji apeli Armiji /JNA op.a./ da spriječi to u Bosni, što ja vidim kao neko ko je otišao prije četiri godine, mogu da budu greška po nekome. Međutim, ja sam vjerovao da to ona može da spriječi. To isto je mislio, vidim, i Sajrus Vens.

Čujem da nas je neki glavonja napao na televiziji.

Zašto ne napadne Vensa ili dode u Pariz?

Mi moramo učiniti sve da na Sarajevo ne padaju granate, da naš grad ostane naš grad!!!

Ja se od Sarajeva nikad neću odreći!!!

Kako vidim, kuća mog dede, Hakije Numankadića, srušena je prekjuče.

Ja jednostavno nisam mogao da vjerujem, iz ove daljine, da vjerujem petnaest dana da divljaci bacaju granate na moj grad!

Koristim priliku da gospodina Karadžića zamolim da svojim autoritetom, a vjerujem da od mene teško može napraviti antisrbina, utiče na te bijednike i očajnike da ne bacaju granate na moj grad!

Jer, više nema dileme da se na sarajevska brda penju muslimani da bi odozgo rušili svoje kuće.

Eto. toliko...

29. april 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Dobili smo, upravo, faks-poruku, kopiju od agencije SRNA, njeno senzacionalno otkriće da je Štab Teritorijalne odbrane Republike Bosne i Hercegovine objavio rat Jugoslovenskoj narodnoj armiji !!!

Upravo smo razgovarali sa komandantom Efendićem koji je ovu informaciju nazvao lažnom.

Uostalom, lako je objaviti rat, ali u ovoj situaciji, pitanje je "čime" ?!

29. april 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Branko Kostić /član Predsjedništva Jugoslavije op.a./ je prije godinu dana kao veliki vizionar rekao: "Ako treba, ješćemo i korijenje"! On je danas na pregovorima u Skoplju pio šampanjac a mi smo, zaista, došli do korijenja. Danas na jelovniku kopriva!

Da ovo nije ozbiljan Dnevnik i da ja nisam pomalo takav momak, ja bih sada najradije opsovao.









2 May 1992 NEWS TV SARAJEVO

LIVE Special broadcast on the all-out attack on the city of Sarajevo at 2.51 p.m.

Hadžifejzović: Good afternoon!

The only institution that is currently operating, Radio Television Sarajevo, is as of now, 2.51 p.m., broadcasting on a single, common frequency.

There is street fighting in Sarajevo. The city and civilian facilities are being shelled! Our colleagues Vlado Bilić and Mladen Paunović are with us in the studio.

Bilić: Battles are being waged in the very heart of the city, the Presidency building is under attack.

Paunović: I was watching live the attack on the Presidency building, and saw ordinary people, civilians, being killed. We took one wounded guy to the hospital. . .

Hadžifejzović: Our colleague Zrinka Jovanović is on the line.

Jovanović: Everyone's together in Gorica, every nationality, Serbs, Croats, Muslims. I appeal to those who are attacking us to stop! The police headquarters is on fire, everything is going up in smoke. . .

Milka Figurić, Radio Sarajevo: Three tanks have come down into the city. We're under fire from all kinds of armaments. The whole city is under attack! We can't hear our reporters, because of the explosions. . .

Mladen Sančanin, Radio Sarajevo: Colm Doyle told us that if it goes on like this, he'll call General Adžić and threaten him with incalculable consequences. As far as he is concerned, the Army is solely to blame for all this.

Ranko Mavrak, Radio Sarajevo: Doyle told us, in far from diplomatic terms, that he considered the most provocative action to be the entry of tanks into the city. He regards General Kukanjac as responsible for this. . .

Dr.Silvana Rizvanbegović: I'm calling from the Emergency Squad centre, I am calling on you to help us... they are firing at us here! We can't get out, nor help anyone... We have lost one vehicle...

Hadžifejzović: We also have Ljerka Draženović, a journalist from Yutel, live on the programme, on video, reporting from the press centre of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Draženović: I have Vladimir Srebrov beside me. He has a message for us on this most dramatic, this most fateful of days!

Srebrov: My message to the people of Sarajevo is that they are no longer Serbs, Croats, Muslims! Their nationality is now – defenders!









(UŽIVO) Vanredna emisija u povodu općeg napada na grad Sarajevo. 14.51 sati

Hadžifeizović: Dobar dan!

Jedina institucija koja funkcioniše u ovom momentu, Radio i Televizija Sarajevo, od sada je, devet minuta prije petnaest sati, na zajedničkom i jedinstvenom talasu.

U Sarajevu su u toku ulične borbe, bombardovanje grada i civilnih objekata!!!

Ovdje u studiju su kolege Vlado Bilić i Mladen Paunović.

Bilić: Vode se borbe u samom centru, u toku je napad na zgradu Predsjedništva

Paunović: Gledao sam uživo napad na zgradu Predsjedništva, vidio sam kako gine obični svijet, civili. Prebacili smo jednog povrijeđenog momka u bolnicu...

Hadžifejzović: Na liniji je kolegica Zrinka Jovanović

Jovanović: Na Gorici smo svi zajedno, svih nacionalnosti, Srbi, Hrvati, Muslimani.

Molim ove koji napadaju da prestanu! Dom milicije gori, sve je u dimu...

Milka Figurić, Radio Sarajevo: Tri tenka su sišla u grad. Puca se iz svih oruđa. Cijeli grad je napadnut. Ne čujemo naše reportere od detonacija...

Mladen Sančanin, Radio Sarajevo: Kolom Doyle nam je rekao da će, ako se ovako nastavi, on nazvati generala Adžića i da će mu zaprijetiti nesagledivim posljedicama. On Armiju vidi kao isključivog krivca za sve ovo!

Ranko Mavrak, Radio Sarajevo: Doyle nam je rekao, nimalo diplomatskim jezikom, da on najprovokativnijim gestom smatra ulazak tenkova u grad.

On generala Kukanjca smatra odgovornim za taj čin...

Dr. Silvana Rizvanbegović: Zovem iz Centra Hitne pomoći, obraćam Vam se da nam pomognete... Ovdje se puca na nas! Mi ne možemo izaći, niti bilo kome pomoći... Izgubili smo jedno vozilo...

Hadžifejzović: U direktnom programu i slikom je i Ljerka Draženović, novinar Yutela. Javlja se iz Predsjedništva BiH, iz Press-centra.

Draženović: Pored mene je Vladimir Srebrov. Ima poruku u ovom najdramatičnijem, presudnom danu!

Srebrov: Poručujem građanima Sarajeva da više nisu Srbi, Hrvati, Muslimani!!!









We are being attacked by those who want to destroy us, to take our city from us!

These are criminals!

They have no other motive but to rob us!

This is a turning point in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a turning point for this newly independent country.

By launching this attack they have become AGGRESSORS, they being the JNA, the former JNA, the extremist wing of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), members of the chetnik movement and the Serbian Radical Party (SRS). In doing this, they have dug their own graves here in Sarajevo!

They have proved that they are scum, that they are worthless nobodies!

People of Sarajevo, draw up your battle-lines and overthrow these bastards who are attacking our city!

These people who are attacking us are led by war criminals, who will soon be in the dock for their crimes!

Draženović: Mr Kljuić, member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is also here.

Kljuić: Dr Ganić has just informed General Kukanjac that the Territorial Defence units have stopped firing. The JNA alone is firing in the city. All these foreign reporters and observers can see it. . .

I call on General Kukanjac to leave the civilian population in peace; let him fire on the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the buildings of the state institutions!

Draženović: And the Army won't destroy so much as an ant. . .

Hadžifejzović: It's terribly sad that the Army is firing on the very people who brought it into existence exactly fifty years ago. It's very sad because it was here that this Army was best loved . . .

This is D-Day for Bosnia and Herzegovina, in political as well as in military terms.

We must apologise for broadcasting some Bosnian music now, while we wait for further information. But after all, the country can defend itself with music as well!

This is my country, and its upheavals are mine too!

Draženović: Dr Ganić is here with me, facing the camera. You have spoken to Kukanjac. What does our 'protector' of the peace have to say?

Ganić: He says, don't fire on us!

Draženović: Always the same old story.

Ganić: It's as though he can't hear anything!

Draženović: He is still claiming that everybody is firing in the city. Everybody, that is, except the Army.

Ganic: I appeal to everyone, to women, to the officers' children, to the officers' families, to bring their influence to bear on them to stop the attacks. We shall put up a blood-curdling resistance. . .

Hadžifejzović: What is happening around the Army Centre and the Army Headquarters? The Army says that there is fighting because these buildings are being targeted.

Ganlé: These buildings are not under attack.

Oni su po naciji - branioci!!!

Nas napadaju, žele da nas unište, da nam oduzmu naš grad!

To su zločinci!

Oni nemaju motiva nijednog, osim da nas opljačkaju!

Ovaj trenutak je preokret u historiji BiH, preokret nje kao mlade i nezavisne države.

Ovim činom su AGRESORI, a to je JNA, bivša JNA, ekstremno krilo Srpske demokratske stranke, članovi četničkog pokreta i Srpska radikalna stranka, oni su dakle ovim činom, ovdje u Sarajevu, sebi iskopali grob!

Oni su ovim činom dokazali da su ništarije, da su niko i ništa!

Gradani Sarajeva, zbijte redove i oborite ove hulje koje su napale grad!

Na čelu ovih ljudi koji napadaju nalaze se ratni zločinci koji će za koji dan izaći na optuženičku klupu!

Draženović: Evo i gospodina Kljuića, člana Predsjedništva BiH.

Kljuić: Doktor Ganić je upravo javio generalu Kukanjcu da je Teritorijalna odbrana prekinula vatru. JNA isključivo puca po gradu. To vide svi ovi strani dopisnici, posmatrači...

Pozivam generala Kukanjca da ostavi narod i civile na miru i neka puca po Predsjedništvu Bosne i Hercegovine i državnim institucijama!!!

Draženović: A Armija neće ni mrava zgaziti...

Hadžifejzović: Žalosno je da ta armija puca po narodu koji ju je izrodio prije tačno pedeset godina. Žalosno je jer je ta armija ovdje bila najvoljenija...

Ovo je dan "D" za Bosnu i Hercegovinu i u vojnom i u političkom kontekstu.

lzvinjavam se što ćemo u ovom momentu, čekajući informacije, emitirati i bosansku muziku.

No, zemlja se brani i muzikom!

Ovo je moja zemlja, moj je i zemljotres!

Draženović: Doktor Ganić je sa mnom ispred kamere. Čuli ste se sa Kukanjcem.

Šta kaže "čuvar" našeg mira?

Ganić: On kaže "Nemojte pucati na nas!"

Draženović: I dalje ista priča.

Ganić: On kao da ništa ne čuje!

Draženović: On i dalje tvrdi da svi pucaju po gradu. Svi, osim Armije.

Ganić: Apelujem na sve, na žene, na djecu oficira, na porodice oficira da utiču na njih da prestanu napadati. Mi ćemo jeziv otpor pružiti...

Hadžifejzović: Šta se dešava oko Doma Armije i Komande Armije? Armija kaže da se borbe vode zbog napada na te objekte.

Hadžifejzović: Let's go to the Headquarters of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Territorial Defence.

Vehbija Karić: Senad, they're targeting the whole city at random with long-range heavy weapons. Kukanjac won't scare us with that. He will never conquer Sarajevo!

What he is doing to Sarajevo is a terrible crime!

Billé: Is there any news from other regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Karić: Most of the town of Brčko has been occupied by the Army, by aggressor forces from Serbia. The Brčko defence is still putting up a brave resistance, even though they have lost the city centre as well as key facilities.

Bilić: What about Vlašić?

Karić: They are attacking Vlašić...They aren't there to repair it...

Hadžifejzović: Is there any military logic in all of this, except to kill people and to destroy the city?

Karić: Senad, Vladimir, this is the result of yesterday's lesson from Lisbon, where Europe gave the Serbian Democratic Party a dressing-down and sent it packing...

Hadžifejzović: Here, shells are falling on the Sarajevo Radio-Television Centre!

Come on, Army, fire away! Even now we are telling the truth!

Professor Zdravko Grebo is on the line.

Prof.Grebo: I am in Skenderija... My news isn't just news...

My news is terrifying...

Tanks have been firing at random... there are dead people lying around everywhere...

...there is street fignting around Skenderija... God only knows what the point of all this is.

Just when the vision of a partitioned Bosnia turned out not to be the sure thing the people lording it over this situation had imagined it to be, they launched this vile campaign which will result in a huge number of deaths and the destruction of the city...

There are aircraft overnead...

This is the end of the world, but I'm not afraid!

This is the death rattle of a regime, which has no way out except to destroy everything, dragging everything else down with it.

But we've simply no intention of going down with them!

There will never be peace until Europe and the rest of the world realize that they are negotiating with the wrong people.

They are fools! They are criminals!

These are criminals, who have sunk so deep into crime that there's no turning back for them! ...This is a MIG 29!

Captain Grebo speaking! Shame on you! We shall survive!

There is no horror so great that this city will buckle!

...This is an air strike!

Captain Grebo again: this city may be razed to the ground, but they shall not enter!

Bilić: Our colleague Vlatko Marković is on the line.

02. maj 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Ganić: Nema napada na te objekte.

Hadžifejzović: Idemo do Štaba Teritorijalne odbrane BiH.

Vehbija Karić: Senade, cijeli grad se nasumice gađa iz teških dalekometnih oruđa. Neće nas

Kukanjac time zastrašiti. On Sarajevo nikada neće osvojiti!

Ovo što radi sa Sarajevom krajnji je zločin!

Bilić: 1ma li vijesti iz ostalih krajeva Bosne i Hercegovine?

Karić: Većina grada Brčkog je osvojena od strane Armije, agresora iz Srbije.

Branioci Brčkog se ipak hrabro drže, iako su izgubili centar grada i vitalne objekte.

Bilić: Šta je sa Vlašićem?

Karić: Napadaju Vlašić... Oni nisu tamo da bi ga popravljali...

Hadžifejzović: Ima li ikakve vojničke logike u svemu ovome, osim da se ljudi pobiju i grad uništi?

Karić: Senade, Vladimire! Ovo je produkt lekcije od juče iz Lisabona, gdje je Evropa naružila i otjerala Srpsku demokratsku stranku...

Hadžifejzović: Evo, granate padaju na zgradu Radio-televizije Sarajevo!

Pucaj, Vojsko! Mi i sada govorimo istinu!

Na telefonskoj liniji je profesor Zdravko Grebo.

Prof. Grebo: U Skenderiji sam... Moje informacije nisu informacije...

Moje informacije su užasne...

Tenkovi su pucali nasumice... okolo leže mrtvi ljudi...

...oko Skenderije se vodi ulični rat... Dragi Bog zna kakvog ovo ima smisla.

Onog momenta kada se vizija rastakanja Bosne gospodara ove situacije pokazala kao ne sasvim izvjesna, oni su pokrenuli ovu gnusnu kampanju u kojoj će poginuti ogroman broj ljudi i grad biti uništen...

...Evo, avioni nadlijeću...

Ovo je smak svijeta, ali ja se ne bojim !!!

Ovo je samrtni ropac jednog režima koji više izlaza nema, sem da razori sve, povlačeći sa sobom u sunovrat sve.

Mi, jednostavno sa njima u sunovrat nećemo!!!

Mira nema dok Evropa i svijet ne shvate da pregovaraju sa pogrešnim ljudima

To su budale! To su zločinci!

To su zločinci koji su u zločin zagazili, njima povratka nema!!!

... Ovo je MIG 29!

Govori kapetan Grebo! Sram vas bilo! Mi ćemo preživjeti!

Nema tog straha pod kojim će ovaj grad pokleknuti!

...Ovo je avionska bomba!

Ponovo, kapetan Grebo: Ovaj grad može biti razoren, oni u njega neće ući!!!

2 May 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

Marković: I have no military rank. I was a private. I am Sarajevan by nationality.

These planes overhead... it's obvious they are not from the UPI or the fire brigade!

Hadžifejzović: General Aksentijević from the Second Army is on the line.

Aksentijević: There's been an attack on the Army Headquarters... We have three dead and six wounded. The Headquarters' power and telephones have been cut off. We wanted to get our dead and wounded out.

The Headquarters did not want to attack Sarajevo, its own city.

Hadžifejzović: General, were you fired at from the tramway?

Were you fired at from the Trades Union Headquarters?

But you're the one who ignited all this, as can be seen on the footage!

Aksentijević: General Kukanjac did set off with the tanks, it's true. It was to evacuate the dead and wounded when the people whose duty it is wouldn't do it. Now all possible means are being used.

So it seems.

The avalanche is in motion.

Hadžifejzović: Command over the Army units is in your hands, General, and you are much better equipp ed and armed...

Aksentijević: ...This is why I am asking those who are less well equipped not to attack the better equipped!

Hadžifejzović: You are merely asking those who are trying to act in self-defence to stop doing so!

Aksentijević: Our tanks have come to a halt.

Bilić: Do you know where Ljubljanska Street is?

Aksentijević: Ehhhh. . .

Bilic: Ehhh, one of your tanks is firing at random on the city from that street!

Aksentijević: It's just a tank. One tank! It's not a brigade, a division, a corps!

It's just one tank!









Bilić: Na liniji je kolega Vlatko Marković.

Marković: Ja po činu nisam ništa! Bio sam redov. A po nacionalnosti sam Sarajlija.

Ovi avioni koji lete, izvjesno je nisu UPI-jevi a ni Vatrogasne brigade!

Hadžifejzović: Na liniji je general Aksentijević iz Druge armijske oblasti.

Aksentijević: Bio je napad na Komandu Armije... Imali smo tri mrtva i šest ranjenih. Komandi je isključena elektrika i telefon. Mi smo htjeli da izvučemo svoje ranjene i poginule.

Komanda nije htjela da napadne svoje Sarajevo.

Hadžifejzović: Je li, generale, na Vas pucano iz tramvaja?

Je li pucano iz Doma sindikata na vas? A sve ste to zapalili, vidi se na snimcima!

Aksentijević: General Kukanjac je krenuo sa tenkovima. To je tačno. Da evakuiše ranjene i poginule kad to neće da učine oni koji su dužni. Sada su sva sredstva u upotrebi.

Izgleda.

Lavina je krenula.

Hadžifejzović: U Vašim rukama je komanda, generale, nad jedinicama Armije koje su mnogo bolje opremljene i naoružane...

Aksentijević: ... Zato ja molim da oni koji su manje opremljeni ne napadaju one koji su bolje opremljeni!

Hadžifejzović: Vi tražite samo od onih koji se brane da prestanu da se brane!!!

Aksentijević: Naši tenkovi su stali.

Bilić: Znate li gdje je Ljubljanska ulica?

Aksentijević: Eeeceeeeeeeh....

Bilić: Eeeeh, iz te ulice vaš tenk nasumice puca po gradu!

Aksentijević: To je tenk. Jedan!!! To nije brigada, divizija, korpus!

To je jedan tenk!!!









2 May 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

Hadžifejzović: Give the order now, on television, to cease fire!

Aksentijević: I can't do that. Kukanjac can.

Hadžifejzović: Tell him to call us.

Aksentijević: 1 will. All right. Bye. Thanks.

Draženović: With me in the Press Centre is artillery Colonel Vehbija Karić.

Colonel, what kind of strategy is this?

Is there anything like this in books on the military, or is it to be found only in some peoples' heads?

Karić: Only in some peoples' heads; the heads of people with whom, until very recently, I was associated. My message to them is this: Colonel Ratko Dukanović, my former colleague and friend. We have known each other for twenty years.

Ask yourself what you are doing!

You spent ten years in Sarajevo... A short while ago your family was still here, but now they are in Belgrade, thanks to Karadžić. And now you are firing on this completely innocent city! There are other ways of proving your courage as a soldier. This city cannot fight back with artillery but only with the truth and a resolute defence. For freedom!

Bilić: We have information that Fikret Abdić is in UNPROFOR Headquarters. We are calling him.

Draženović: We have information that Fikret Abdić has reached Kiseljak and can't go any further.

Hadžifejzović: Nada Selimović, who runs the Centre for Antiwar Activities, is calling us.

Selimović: I am using this to address the gentlemen from the Army Command: Adbić, Kukanjac, Ostojić, Aksentijević and all their hangers-on.

I call upon them, in the spirit of the principles of humanitarian ethics, to order an end to the destruction of our Sarajevo, which is Muslim, Serb and Croat, a city that belongs to all of us.

If they do not do this, they should read the Statute of the war crimes court in Nuremberg where those who committed crimes against humanity were brought to justice.

Let them think about that!

They'll probably be facing trial in just such a court very soon, too.

They shouldn't think they can subjugate the people of Sarajevo!

The whole world can see what they are doing!

Hadžifejzović: Mujo Pašić, disabled while serving in the last war, is on the line.

Pašić: I saw what happened.

I am a soldier, a disabled war veteran, I helped to create the Army, I loved it. The Army was my life. I saw the Army open fire from the Army Centre today, and nobody at all was attacking them!

Bilić: Here is General Kukanjac! General, this is bad!

Kukanjac: The Green Berets entered the Army Centre today. We sent a patrol there that was ambushed. There are dead and wounded...

They began the attack on the headquarters, these Berets launched an all-out attack. . .

02. maj 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Hadžifejzović: Naredite, preko televizije prekid vatre!

Aksentijević: Ja to ne mogu. Može Kukanjac.

Hadžifejzović: Recite mu da nam se javi.

Aksentijević: Hoću. Dobro. Zdravo. Živjeli.

Draženović: Sa mnom u Press-centru je pukovnik, artiljerac Vehbija Karić.

Pukovniče, kakva je ovo strategija?

lma li ovoga u vojnim knjigama ili samo u nečijim glavama?

Karić: Samo u nekim glavama sa kojima sam se donedavno družio.

l ja im poručujem: pukovniče, Ratko Đukanoviću, nekadašnji kolega i prijatelju, znamo se dvadeset godina!!!

Šta to radiš, upitaj se!

U Sarajevu si proveo deset godina. Tu ti je donedavno bila porodica koju si preko Karadžića smjestio u Beograd i sada tučeš ovaj, potpuno nedužni grad! Pokaži vojničku hrabrost na drugi način. Ovaj ti grad ne može uzvratiti artiljerijom, ali istinom i totalnom odbranom može. Za slobodu!

Bilić: Imamo informaciju da je Fikret Abdić u Štabu UNPROFOR-a. Pozivamo ga.

Draženović: Imamo informaciju da je Fikret Abdić došao do Kiseljaka i da ne može dalje.

Hadžifejzović: Javlja nam se Nada Selimović, rukovodilac Centra za antiratne aktivnosti.

Selimović: Obraćam se ovim putem gospodi iz vojnog vrha: Adžiću, Kukanjcu, Ostojiću, Aksentjjeviću i svim njegovim trabantima!

Molim ih da u skladu sa normama ljudske etike narede prekid razaranja našeg Sarajeva koje je i muslimansko i srpsko i hrvatsko, naše zajedničko.

Ukoliko to ne učine, neka pogledaju Statut Suda u Nirnbergu koji je sudio vojnim zločinejma za zločine protiv čovječnosti!

Neka se zamisle!

I njih će vjerovatno jedan takav sud sutra suditi!!!

Neka ne misle da mogu pokoriti građane Sarajeva!

Svijet gleda to što oni rade !!!

Hadžifejzović: Mujo Pašić, ratni vojni invalid iz onog rata, na liniji.

Pašić: Bio sam svjedok.

Ja sam borac, ratni vojni invalid, stvarao sam Armiju, volio sam je. Bio njen. Bio sam svjedok da je Armija pucala iz Doma armije, a da je niko, niko nije napao!

Bilić: Evo, generala Kukanjca! Generale, ovo nije dobro!

Kukanjac: Danas su u Dom Armije ušle "Zelene beretke". Spremili smo tamo u kontrolu jednu patrolu koja je napadnuta iz zasjede. Ima mrtvih. Ima ranjenih...

Oni su počeli napad na Komandu, te beretke, sa svim su napali...

2 May 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

This is the truth. . . This was planned by the leadersnip of Bosnia and Herzegovina. . . It was not the JNA that provoked this or any other attack.

Hadžifejzović: Why is Sarajevo being shelled, General?

Kukanjac: I beg your pardon? It's not on my orders.

Hadžifejzović: Well, who is shelling Sarajevo, General?

Kukanjac: We will see who has been shelling.

Hadžifejzović: But the bombardment is still going on, General!

Kukanjac: Well, I don't know...Here, my Headquarters are under constant fire...

Bilić: At this very moment, shells are landing on RTV Sarajevo.

Witnesses say that the Army has opened fire on a no. 17 bus.

Kukanjac: These are lies... fabrications, nothing but fabrications.

I called Ganić and told him to stop firing.

We cannot just stand still, while someone is firing on us!

The key question is who started the conflict. Some of my men have been killed.

Hadžifejzović: This is not the time to determine who is to blame.

It is time to stop the destruction of the city, and then to talk...

Kukanjac: Those who are firing, ravaging, and killing must be ordered to stop! I am merely acting in

self defence!

Bilić: You are targeting civi ian buildings, General!

Kukanjac: Who's firing?

Bilić: The Army and the tanks. The tank in Mićo Sokolović street is targeting civilian buildings.

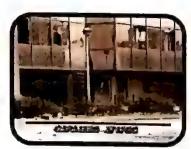
Kukanjac: Anything is possible. It's possible.

We must check it out. He had no such orders.

Let's call a halt, get the dead and wounded out, and restore order, so we can start to talk, and

not go on like this...









To su istine... To je isplanirano u rukovodstvu Bosne i Hercegovine... Ničim nije JNA dovela do napada.

Hadžifejzović: Zašto se bombarduje Sarajevo, gospodine generale?!

Kukanjac: Molim Vas lepo, ja to nisam naredio.

Hadžifejzović: Pa, ko bombarduje Sarajevo, gospodine generale?!

Kukanjac: Videćemo ko je bombardovao.

Hadžifejzović: Još se bombarduje Sarajevo, gospodine generale!

Kukanjac: E, ja ne znam... Evo, tuče se i moja komanda... svaki čas...

Bilić: U ovom momentu padaju mine na RTV Sarajevo.

Svjedoci govore da je vojska pucala na autobus broj 17.

Kukanjac: To su izmišljotine... priče i pričice.

Ja sam pozvao Ganića, rekao mu da prekine vatru. Ne možemo mi tu da stojimo dok nas neko gada! Ključno je ko je počeo sukob. Poginuli su moji ljudi.

Hadžifejzović: Nije vrijeme za utvrđivanje krivice.

Vrijeme je da se prekine razaranje grada pa potom priča...

Kukanjac: Neka se naredi svima onima koji pucaju, razaraju, ubijaju da se prestane!

Ja se jedino branim!

Bilić: Gađate civilne objekte, generale!

Kukanjac: Ko gađa?!

Bilić: Vojska i tenkovi. Tenk iz ulice Miće Sokolovića gađa civilne objekte.

Kukanjac: Sve je moguće. Moguće.

To moramo da utvrdimo. Nije dobio tako naređenje.

Daj da prekinemo, izvučemo mrtve, ranjene, da sednemo, da se zavede, red da počnemo

jednom razgovarati, a ne ovako...









HadžifeJzović: General, use the television to address your soldiers and order them to stop firing!

Kukanjac: My officers and men have stopped.

It wasn't them that started all this. But they have stopped, for all that. And they will stay that way.

Hadžifejzović: D'd HEPOK and the Market Centre open fire at you?

Did Sarajevo Television fire at you? Well, you are firing at them, General!

Kukanjac: We aren't targeting civilian buildings as such, but only specific targets in those buildings. Leave it alone!... Don't get carried away like this. You're a reasonable man, after all.

Bilić: No one's getting carried away any more! The city doesn't deserve this.

Kukanjac: This Army doesn't deserve this!

Please, make an appeal! Let's make an appeal! I'm making an appeal! I appeal to them to call off these actions!

Hadžifejzović: General, these are overt acts of war.

Order the soldiers to stop, and we'll call on the Territorial Defence Headquarters to do the same.

Kukanjac: OK, bye... click!

Bilić: He hung up...

Figurić: We are on the same wavelength together. We've found Fikret Abdić.

Comrade Abdić, have you just arrived in Sarajevo?

Abdić: Yes. . . Now, more than ever, we need everyone to keep calm, and the same goes for the institutions of state... I've been in Bosanska Krajina, in order to prevent conflicts breaking out there... While I was there I was told that hundreds of workers who have jobs in the West are in Karlovac, ready to come to Cazin and Kladuša.

And right after that we learned that they had already arrived, that they were ready for battle and that in effect they were going onto the attack in the area of Kladuša, Cazin and Krupa. So as to prevent this, I responded to the call from these workers of ours and convinced them that the only thing they could do was to return to the countries where they have jobs, since realistically there is nothing they can do to defend this region of theirs...









Hadžifejzović: Generale, obratite se Vašim vojnicima ovim putem i naredite im da prekinu da pucaju!

Kukanjac: Moje starešine i vojnici su prestali.

Nisu ni počeli. A prestali su. 1 prestaće.

Hadžifejzović: Je li na vas pucao HEPOK, Tržni centar.

Je li na vas pucala Televizija Sarajevo?! Pa, vi po njima pucate, generale !!!

Kukanjac: Ne pucamo mi po civilnim objektima, nego samo po ciljevima iz tih objekata. Pustite to... nemojte biti navijački nastrojeni. Vi ste barem razuman čovek.

Bilić: Nema više navijača! Ovaj grad nije zaslužio ovako nešto.

Kukanjac: Ova Armija nije zaslužila tako nešto!

Molim vas, apelujte! Apelujmo! Apelujem! Apelujem da se prekinu dejstva!

Hadžifejzović: Generale, ovo su otvorena ratna dejstva.

Naredite vojnicima da prekinu, mi ćemo to tražiti od Štaba TO.

Kukanjac: Dobro, zdravo....(klik!!!)

Bilić: Prekide vezu...!

Figurić: Zajedno smo na istom talasu. Pronašli smo Fikreta Abdića!

Druže Abdiću, Vi ste tek stigli u Sarajevo?

Abdić: Da ...Sada nam je potrebno, više nego ikada, smireno djelovanje svih građana i svih institucija sistema... Ja sam bio u Bosanskoj krajini da bih tamo spriječio sukobe... U toku te moje misije obaviješten sam da više stotina radnika koji rade na Zapadu se nalazi u Karlovcu, spremnih da pređu u Cazin i Kladušu.

Odmah se tu pojavila informacija da su oni došli tu ranije, da su oni osposobljeni za oružanu borbu i da praktički idu u napad na ovo područje Kladuše, Cazina i Krupe. Da bih spriječio to, ja sam se odazvao pozivu tih naših radnika i uvjerio ih da je jedini put da se vrate u zemlje u kojima rade jer ništa praktički ne bi pomogli u odbrani svoga karaja...

Dok sam obavljao tu misiju i telefonom kontaktirao, obavlješten sam da je Fikret pobjegao iz Sarajeva, zbog ovog teškog stanja... Političko-bezbjedonosna situacija je teška... lično mislim da













While on my mission there, I maintained telephone contact, and was told that Fikret had fled Sarajevo because things were so tough there... The political and security situation is tough... I personally think that another three thousand observers should be sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina... I appeal to Kukanjac to call off these actions. . . All this constantly going on about who first started all this is an endless business that can only drive our people crazy... The onus is on Kukanjac to stop all of this: IT'S NOW OR NEVER! ... The rest is of no importance, all this appearing on radio and TV...

Even if General Kukanjac's a legations are true, it is out of the question to even think about sending tanks into the streets and launch ng this kind of attack.

What justification can there be for shelling innocent civilians.

Bilić: Our colleague Hadžifejzović has left, he has to prepare the news broadcast. People expect this of us...

02. maj 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO





bi trebalo uputiti još tri hiljade posmatrača u BiH... Ja pozivam Kukanjca da obustavi dejstva... Stalno pozivanje na to ko je prvi počeo a ko drugi, vodi nas u jednu beskonačnu aktivnost koja samo izluđuje naše građane... Na Kukanjcu je potez da obustavi dejstva: Sad ili nikad!Sve drugo je nepotrebno, ovo uključivanje na radio i TV...

l kada bi navodi generala Kukanjca bili u pravu, nema ni pomisli za izlazak tenkova na ulice i za ovakav napad.

Čime pravdati da se granate bacaju na nepoznate građane.

Bilić: Evo, kolega Hadžifejzović je otišao, mora pripremiti Dnevnik. Ljudi to od nas očekuju...





LIVE The kidnapping of President Izetbegović by the JNA 8.23 PM

Hadžífejzović: I've just heard from the control room that we have the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr Alija Izetbegović, on the line. Good evening.

Izetbegović: And who may this be?

Hadžifejzović: Hadžifejzović.

Izetbegović: Senad?

Hadžifejzović: Yes. We're live on air, Mr President!

Izetbegović: I need to speak to someone from the Presidency, so I can find someone able to negotiate

a cease-fire. The Army is willing to agree to a cease fire.

Hadžifejzović: To whom have you spoken, Mr President?

Izetbegović: To General Kukanjac and General Đurđevac, who is with me here in the office. I spoke to General Kukanjac on the phone five or six minutes ago. The Army wants to pull out of the city and go to Lukavica.

Hadžifejzović: We have on the line Mr Ganić, member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Izetbegović: Hello, Ejup!

Ganic: Here I am, I'm in the Presidency building.

Izetbegović: And I'm in Lukavica, in the barracks. I reached the airport an hour and a half ago, and the army brought me to Lukavica. Ejup, what's going on?

Ganić: The Army is targeting the city! This is aggression, 't's unbelievable! They've been firing since 12 o'clock. They have hit the Trades Union Headquarters, the Parliament, the relay station on Hum...

Izetbegović: They are saying it's the other way about.

Ganić: Alija, there are journalists here, the local public, the international public! For God's sake, shells and rockets are landing here!...









(UŽIVO) JNA je otela predsjednika Izetbegovića

20. 23. sati

Hadžifejzović: Evo, iz režije mi javljaju da na direktnoj telefonskoj liniji imamo predsjednika Predsjedništva BiH, gospodina Aliju Izetbegovića. Dobro veče,

Izetbegović: A, ko je to?

Hadžifejzović: Hadžifejzović.

Izetbegović: Senad?

Hadžifejzović: Da. Uživo smo u programu, gospodine predsjedniče!

Izetbegović: Ja bih trebao da razgovaram sa nekim iz Predsjedništva, da nađemo nekoga ko bi mogao ugovoriti prekid vatre. Vojska je spremna da obustavi vatru.

mogao agovorti prekia vatie. Vojska je spremina da obustavi vati

Hadžifejzović: S kim ste razgovarali, gospodine predsjedniče?

Izetbegović: Sa generalom Kukanjcem i generalom Đurđevcem koji se nalazi, ovdje sa mnom u kancelariji. Sa generalom Kukanjcem sam razgovarao telefonom prije pet-šest minuta. Vojska želi da se izvuče iz grada u pravcu Lukavice.

Hadžifejzović: Evo, na liniji imamo gospodina Ganića, člana Predsjedništva BiH!

Izetbegović: Halo, Ejup!

Ganić: Tu sam, u Predsjedništvu sam!

Izetbegović: A ja sam u Lukavici, u kasarni. Ja sam došao prije sat i po na aerodrom a onda me vojska dovela ovdje u Lukavicu. Ejupe, šta se dešava?

Ganić: Vojska gađa grad! Ovo je agresija, ovo je nevjerovatno! Od 12 sati gađaju. Pogođen je Dom sindikata, Skupština, relej na Humu...

Izetbegović: Oni tvrde obrnuto.

Ganić: Alija, ovdje su novinari, ovdje je domaća javnost, međunarodna javnost! Pobogu brate, ovdje padaju granate, rakete!!!...









2 May 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

Izetbegović: They are calling on us to give them safe passage to Lukavica.

Ganic: So who's stopping them?

Alija, listen to this!

Can you hear me, Alija!

Why don't you come to the Presidency?

Izetbegović: Because they won't let me leave! Because they brought me to Lukavica under duress!

Which telephone are you using?

Ganić: They've cut the lines!

Izetbegović: So how did you manage to reach me?

Hadžifejzović: Through the Television, Mr President. We're live on air!

Ganić: We're live on television!

Izetbegović: We must let the Army leave the city and make for Lukavica.

Kljuić: Mr President! Listen to me, it's Stjepan Kljuić speaking. You must make it a condition that Durđevac stop firing on the city!

Izetbegović: Of course.

Kljuić: And the second condition is to bring you back into the city.

Our side has already introduced a ceasefire. We will allow the army to return by the same route as they came. It's twenty-five to nine now. We'll give them half an hour to bring you back to the Presidency building.

Ganic: UNPROFOR should bring you back! Here to the Presidency, Alija!





Izetbegović: Oni traże da im se omogući prolaz ka Lukavici.

Ganic: Pa, ko im brani?! Alija, slušaj jednu stvar! Da li me čuješ, Alija!!!

Zašto ti ne dođeš u Predsjedništvo?!

Izetbegović: Zato što mi ne daju da dođem!!! Zato što sam prisilno doveden u Lukavicu! Na kom

se telefonu nalaziš?

Ganić: Nama su pokidane linije!!!

Izetbegović: Pa, kako ste ovo uspjeli dobiti?

Hadžifejzović: Preko Televizije, gospodine predsjedniče. Uživo idemo!

Ganić: Uživo idemo preko Televizije!

Izetbegović: Neka se vojsci omogući da ide iz grada prema Lukavici!

Kljuić: Predsjedniče!!! Saslušaj me, Stjepan Kljuić govori!

Prvi preduvjet koji moraš postaviti Đurđevcu je da prekinu paljbu na grad!!!

Izetbegović: Naravno.

Kljuić: I drugi preduvjet, da te dovedu u grad!!!

Prekid vatre sa naše strane je već uspostavljen! Omogućićemo vojsci povratak cestom i putem kojim

je došla! Sada je 25 do 9. Pola sata im dajemo da te dovedu u Predsjedništvo!!!

Ganić: UNPROFOR da tebe dovede!!! Ovdje u Predsjedništvo, Alija!!!





Kljuić: Have Durđevac order a cease-fire! We've ordered our people to do the same!

Izetbegović (to Durđevac): Order them to hold their fire!

General, order them over the radio to stop firing!

Give the order, General, give the order! There's no firing from our side.

Let our people hear this: everyone must allow the Army to leave!

Kljulć: They're not moving until you're back here, Mr President!

Please, Mr President, they're holding you prisoner!

You're the head of state!

Nobody's leaving until you're here, in the Presidency building!

Hadžifejzović: We've been joined in the studio by the Minister of Defence, Jerko Doko, and Presidency member Fikret Abdić. In one way or another we have the whole Presidency with us, with the three phone lines.

Please tell us what the situation is with you in Lukavica.

Izetbegović: In effect, I'm a prisoner here! But here's General Durdevac saying I'm not.

Hadžifejzović: May I speak to General Durđevac, please.

Durdevac: Yes!

Hadžifejzović: Mr Đurđevac, Senad Hadžifejzović on the phone.

Durđevac: Oh, hallo!

Hadžifejzović: We're live on air, General!

I served under you ten years ago.

Ten years ago, you were in loco parentis to me, because I served under you for a year.

Can you tell me in what capacity is Mr Izetbegović in your barracks?

Durdevac: They are firing on the barracks! It's highly dangerous!

If you have even the slightest sense of humour. . . of humanity! Tell them to stop firing!

These are innocent young men! I am holding fire!

Kljuić: Then stop firing!

Hadžifejzović: You've got three points of agreement: that you'll cease fire, that the Bosnia and

Herzegovina Territorial Defence will cease fire, and that you'll release President Izetbegović.

Durdevac: Senad, we're old friends and old humanists.

I'm still just a humanist, but this has gone beyond all endurance.

Just trust us a little, so we can pull out of Sarajevo.

Hadžifejzović: You have a guarantee from the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina that the route you

choose will be open.



Kljuić: Neka naredi Đurđevac prekid vatre! Mi smo svojim naredili!

Izetebegović /obraća se Đurđevcu/: Naredite im da prestanu pucati! Naredite im, generale, preko radio-veze da prestanu pucati! Naredite im, generale, naredite! Sa naše strane se ne puca. Neka čuju građani, ovu poruku: Neka omoguće, svi, kretanje vojske!

Kljuić: Nema kretanja, predsjedniče, dok ti ne dodeš ovamo!!! Molim te, predsjedniče, ti si uhapšen!!! Ti si predsjednik države! Nema izlaska nikome dok se ti ne pojaviš u Predsjedništvu!!!

Hadžifejzović: Ovdje su došli u naš studio, ministar odbrane Jerko Doko i član Predsjedništva Fikret Abdić. Na neki način, komplet Predsjedništvo je kompletirano na tri linije.

Ja Vas molim da nam objasnite kakav je Vaš položaj u Lukavici!

Izetbegović: Ja sam ovdje, praktički, zarobljenik!!! Evo, general Đurđevac kaže da to nije tako.

Hadžifejzović: Molim Vas, mogu li dobiti generala Đurđevca.

Durdevac: Molim!

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine Đurđevac, Senad Hadžifejzović pored telefona.

Durđevac: E, zdravo!

Hadžifejzović: U direktnom smo programu, gospodine generale! Ja sam Vaš vojnik prije deset godina bio! Bili ste mi prije deset godina kao roditelj, jer sam bio vaš vojnik godinu dana! Hoćete li mi reći kakav je status gospodina lzetbegovića u Vašoj kasami?

Durđevac: Tuku nas po kasarni!!! Tuku nas opasno!!! Ako imate imalo smisla za humor... humanost! Zamolite ove da prekinu paljbu! To su nevini mladići! Ja sam prekinuo svaku vatru!

Kljuić: Pa, prekinite palibu više!!!

Hadžifejzović: Imate tri tačke dogovora: vi da prekinete vatru, da Teritorijalna odbrana BiH prekine vatru i da pustite predsjednika Izetbegovića!

Durđevac: Senade, mi smo stari poznanici i stari humanisti. Ja sam još uvijek samo humanista ali ovo je više nemoguće trpjeti. Mi molimo da nam se malo vjeruje, da se izvučemo iz grada Sarajeva.

Hadžifejzović: Imate garanciju Predsjedništva BiH da će put koji odaberete biti slobodan!



Durdevac: No one has any authority to hold these people...

Kljuić: We have the authority, but the President of the country must be set free! It's twenty to nine now. Izetbegović must be in the Presidency half an hour from now!

Durdevac: He can't, for reasons of security.

He is safest here.

I don't accept ultimatums!

Hadžifejzović: General, this is Hadžifejzović.

Durđevac: Come on, Senad, you're a good man.

Hadžifejzović: Come on, General, stop targeting Sarajevo from Lukavica.

Durdevac: There's no fire at all coming from Lukavica, it's Lukavica that's being targeted!

Kljuić: That's not true! The centre of Sarajevo is under constant fire!

Durđevac: I'm talking to Senad, and please let me speak to just one person at a time. These are our demands: first, that all military action stop, second, that we be allowed to pick up our dead and wounded, third, that our people be permitted to pull out of Command Headquarters and the Army Centre. Mr (zetbegović, who is a very reasonable man, and who is here together with his daughter, /Deputy Premier Zlatko/ Lagumdžija, and his escort, is safe here and has everything he needs.

Hadžifejzović: General Đurđevac, please, you know all the military regulations, can you please tell me, as a soldier, in what capacity is the President in your barracks?

Durdevac: In the capacity of a man who has an important role to play in helping the Army to get away safely, in saving innocent lives, and in recovering the dead.

Hadžifejzović: I hope you're not going to blackmail us like this by holding the President in your barracks.

Durđevac: These are my orders, Senad!

Call General Kukanjac, and everything will be clear to you! Bye!

Hadžifejzović: May we speak to President Izetbegović?

Izetbegović: Hello!

Hadžifejzović: Mr President, we are all together on the line now. Mr Fikret Abdić, Mr Jerko Doko, Mr Ganić, Mr Kljuić.

Would you like to speak to Mr Abdić?

Izetbegović: Yes.

Durđevac: Niko nema autoriteta da obuzda ove ljude...

Kljuić: Imamo autoriteta, ali je potrebno da se predsjednik države pusti!!!

Sad je dvadeset do devet (20.40). Za pola sata da Izetbegović bude u Predsjedništvu!!!

Durđevac: Predsjednik ne može iz bezbjednosnih razloga!

On je ovdje najbezbjedniji sada! Ne prihvatam ultimatum!!!

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine generale, Hadžifejzović ovdje.

Đurđevac: Hajde, Senade, ti si dobar čovjek.

Hadžifejzović: Dajte, generale, prekinite Vi vatru sa područja iz Lukavice prema Sarajevu.

Đurđevac: Uopšte se ne tuče iz Lukavice, već se Lukavica tuče!

Kljuić: Nije istina!!! Stalno se tuče centar Sarajeva!

Đurđevac: Ja govorim sa Senadom i neka mi bude dopušteno da govorim sa jednim čovjekom. Naš zahtjev je da nam se omogući: prvo, da se prekinu sva borbena dejstva, drugo, da nam se omogući da izvučemo mrtve i ranjene, treće, da se omogući izvlačenje iz Komande i Doma armije naših ljudi. Gospodin Izetbegović, koji je veoma razuman čovjek, koji je ovdje sa svojom kćerkom, sa Lagumdžijom i pratiocem, ovdje je bezbjedan i ništa im neće faliti.

Hadžifejzović: Generale Đurđevac, molim Vas, Vi znate sva vojna pravila, hoćete li mi reći, kao vojnik, u kojem statusu je gospodin predsjednik u Vašoj kasarni?

Durđevac: U statusu čovjeka koji treba da značajno pomogne da se vojska spasi, da se nevini životi izvuku, da se mrtvi izvuku.

Hadžifejzović: Ja se nadam da vi nećete ucjenjivati na taj način što ćete gospodina predsjednika držati u kasarni.

Durđevac: Ja sam dobio takvo naređenje, Senade! Nazovite generala Kukanjca, biće vam sve jasno! Zdravo!

Hadžifejzović: Možemo li dobiti predsjednika lzetbegovića?

Izetbegović: Halo!

Hadžifejzović: Predsjedniče, sada smo svi povezani. Gospodin Fikret Abdić, gospodin Jerko Doko, gospodin Ganić, gospodin Kljuić.

Hoćete li sa gospodinom Abdićem da porazgovarate?

Izetbegović: Da.





Abdić: Well, while you've been speaking and General Đurđevac has been assuring us that there is no firing, I'm here in the Television building. I can hear shells at very close proximity, which means that there's been no ceasefire. That's all I want to say right now.

Kljuić: Mr President, keep your chin up!

Ganić: Alija! Please, the international community knows that the President of a sovereign and independent country has been arrested by an Army that doesn't have any legitimacy in this country! At this point, Belgrade knows what it has done!

Please let the President go back to his office!

Release nim from captivity, and we'll accompany you, as members of the Presidency, we'll go with you generals and pick up the Army from the Headquarters and escort you to Lukavica! You can be sure that the Territoria: Defence is following the President's orders!

Izetbegović: Issue these orders to the Territorial Defence!

Don't worry about me, my nerves are strong enough, just don't worry about me.

Ganić: But, no, it's not you who's at stake!

It's the country of Bosnia and Herzegovina that's at stake! The whole country has been taken captive!

Izetbegović: I know, I fully understand!

I am afraid of interference from a third party with an interest in provoking a conflict between the citizens and the army.

Hadžifejzović: Which third party, Mr President?

Izetbegović: I think that it's SDS paramilitary units firing on the Army /JNA/ from Vraca and Trebević.

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Abdić: Pa. dok vi razgovarate i dok nas general Đurđevac uvjerava da se ne puca, ja sam ovdje u zgradi Televizije. Slušam granate u neposrednoj blizini, što znači da nije izvršen prekid vatre. To je sve što bih u ovom času rekao!

Kljuić: Predsjedniče, drži se samo!!!

Ganić: Alija! Molim Vas, međunarodna javnost prati da je predsjednik Predsjedništva jedne suverene i nezavisne države uhapšen od Armije koja nema legitimitet u ovoj državi! U ovom trenutku Beograd zna šta je uradio!

Molim vas, dozvolite predsjedniku da dođe na svoje radno mjesto!

Pustite ga iz zatvoreništva, a mi ćemo kao članovi Predsjedništva, ići sa vama generalima da po kupimo vojsku iz Komande i ispratićemo vas do Lukavice! Budite sigurni da Teritorijalna odbrana sluša Predsjedništvo!

Izetbegović: Dadnite takvo uputstvo Teritorijalnoj odbrani!

Za mene se nemojte brinuti, ja imam dovoljno jake nerve, ništa se nemojte brinuti za mene.

Ganić: Ali, ne, nisi ti u pitanju!!!

U pitanju je država Bosna i Hercegovina!!! Ona je uhapšena!!!

Izetbegović: Znam, razumijem ja tu stvar!

Ja se sve bojim da se miješa i treća strana kojoj je u interesu da dođe do sukoba između građana i Armije.

Hadžifejzović: Koja treća strana, predsjedniče?

Izetbegović: Mislim da su to paravojne jedinice SDS-a koje pucaju sa Vraca i Trebevića prema Armiji /JNA op.a./.

Hadžifejzović: Mr President, please pass me General Đurđevac.

Durđevac: Yes, Senad.

Hadžifejzović: Look here, we have official orders for the Territorial Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina

to cease fire.

Please do the same on behalf of the Yugoslav Federal Army!

Durđevac: General Kukanjac gave me the order and I issued it, an hour ago.

Hadžifejzović: You're a soldier, and know what kind of a soldier you are.

Act like a soldier and give the order, please!

Durdevac: I order everyone to stop firing, wnatever the target, except in legitimate self defence!

Hadžifejzović: Thank you, General.

Durdevac: You're welcome. My dear Senad, let there be peace!

Ganić: Alija! You can't issue a decision before you get to the Presidency.

Izetbegović: I can issue a decision about a ceasefire wherever I want, if I want to!

Ganić: Alija! You're under pressure, don't give up, the people are with you!

Izetbgović: Don't worry, I to d you my nerves are good. There's no need for you to worry about this at all. I won't issue any orders that are out of line. I won't issue any orders that could harm the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, don't worry.

Hadžifejzović: General Durđevac!

General, given that UNPROFOR can't do so because of the hostilities, can you bring the President back and come here with him, in person, to the studio?

Durdevac: No!

Hadžifejzović: Why not?

Durdevac: It isn't safe! It isn't safe!

Lassure you, Senad, Lassure you, and you must believe me!

I tell you we'd be fired on, I mean by Švrakić and Juka Prazina, and by everyone who means ill by Sarajevo and the citizens of Sarajevo, and of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are a hundred barricades! Senad, we must analyse the situation rationally and sensibly. In my assessment, the President, for whom I have great respect, is safest staying here. And his lovely daughter. And his associates. And Mr Laqumdžija, who has flown from Lisbon as the representative of the opposition at the peace negotiations.

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine predsjedniče, dajte, molim vas, generala Đurđevca.

Durdevac: E. Senade.

Hadžifejzović: Evo, imamo zvanično naređenje da Teritorijalna odbrana BiH prestane sa paljbom iz svih oruđa.

Učinite Vi to u ime Jugoslovenske narodne armije!!!

Durđevac: Meni je naredio general Kukanjac i ja sam izdao naređenje. Prije sat.

Hadžifejzović: Vi ste vojnik i ja znam kakav ste vojnik.

Učinite to vojnički, molim Vas naredite!

Đurđevac: Naređujem da se prekine svaka paljba, svako dejstvo vatreno po bilo kojim ciljevima, sem

u slučajevima nužne samoodbrane!

Hadžifejzović: Hvala, generale.

Durđevac: Molim. Hajde, Senade moj, da nam bude mira!

Ganić: Alija! Molim Te, ne možeš donositi odluke dok ne dođeš u Predsjedništvo

Izetbegović: Odluku o obustavi vatre mogu donijeti bilo gdje, ako hoću!

Ganić: Alija! Ti si pod pritiskom, nemoj da kloneš duhom, narod je uz tebe!!!

Izetbegović: Bez brige, ja sam ti rekao da imam jake nerve. Ne trebaš se za to sekirati uopće. Ništa neću narediti što neće biti u redu. Ništa neću narediti što će biti na štetu građana BiH. Budi bez brige.

Hadžifejzović: Generale Đurđevac!

Generale, možete li Vi, pošto UNPROFOR zbog ratnih dejstava ne može, Vi dovesti predsjednika i doći Vi zajedno s njim, lično, ovdje u naš studio?

Durđevac: Ne!

Hadžifejzović: Zašto ne možete?

Durdevac: Nije bezbjedno! Nije bezbjedno!

Tvrdim, Senade, tvrdim, a ti meni moraš vjerovati!

Tvrdim da bi na nas pucali i Švrakić i Juka Prazina i svi ovi koji zlo žele Sarajevu i građanima

Sarajeva i Bosne i Herecegovine. Stotinu je barikada!

Senade, moramo razumno, pametno procjenjivati situaciju. Ja sam je procijenio i gospodin predsjednik, koga visoko cijenim, uvažavam, ovdje je najsigurniji, i njegova lijepa kćerka, i njegovi saradnici, i gospodin Lagumdžija, on je iz Lisabona došao ovdje avionom kao predstavnik opozicije na mirovnim razgovorima.

Hadžifejzović: Comrade General, are you guaranteeing the security of the President?

Durdevac: One hundred percent! One hundred percent!

Hadžifejzović: Is there any possibility of transferring the President from your troop carrier into ours, in the convoy...

Durdevac: Three of my troop carriers have been burned out! And that's not counting the tanks! And i don't know what's become of their crews.

Izetbegović: Senad, let's be sure we understand each other. I'm not here of my own free will, nor do I believe that I am really safe here. I would feel safest in my own office. However, quite simply I'm being held prisoner!

Ganić: Do you want to hear the actual voice of the Commander of the Territorial Defence? Just hold on a moment, here he is!

Colonel Hasan Efendić: Territorial Defence personnel! Police officers! Hold your fire! Don't fire unless the targets move! The ceasefire holds good until 09.30, to enable the President to reach the Presidency in safety!

Izetbegović: Colonel Gagović wants to say something too.

Gagović: Mr Ganić! First, we've agreed a ceasefire! And I think it's slowly coming close to taking effect. Second, let's recover our dead and wounded, on both sides. Third, let's have Comrade General Kukanjac reach /Lukavica/ in safety. After that, I guarantee you, on my life, that Mr Alija Izetbegović, President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, will return in safety to the Presidency building and continue to govern Bosnia and Herzegovina!

Kljuić: I suggest that General Durđevac set off for the city with President Izetbegović in their troop carrier, and that I and General Kukanjac leave Headquarters in our carrier and head towards you!

Izetbegović: Stjepan, pass me Kljuić... I mean Ganić!

Ganić: I'm listening, Alija!

Izetbegović: Ganić, you have full authority to issue orders on my behalf, until I'm back in the Presidency building! Any orders you issue are my orders as well.

I think that we've come to a reasonable agreement.

Let's recover the wounded.

Let Kukanjac head off in this direction and I in his direction, and we'll meet up somewhere. And we'll do the exchange.

Note: At this point, we once again lost the connection with the JNA barracks in Lukavica, a suburb of Sarajevo. In the news broadcast that followed, we set up a connection between Presidency members Ganić and Kljuić and Colm Doyle, the only international diplomat in Sarajevo, who was naturally aware of what was happening in Lukavica and Sarajevo. During the news, our colleagues Senad Pećanin and Zoran O. Milanović from the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, together with the Minister of Defence Jerko Doko, brought us the latest information about the bombardment of Sarajevo.

One hour later ...

Hadžifejzović: Druže generale, Vi garantujete bezbjednost predsjedniku?

Durdevac: Stopostotno! Stopostotno!

Hadžifejzović: Da li postoji ikakva mogućnost, u transporteru, u koloni, da se gospodin predsjednik prebaci do našeg...

Durđevac: Tri su mi transportera spržena!!! Da ne brojim tenkove! A ne znam šta je sa ljudima iz njih!

Izetbegović: Senade, da se razumijemo. Ja ovdje nisam po svojoj volji, niti smatram da sam ovdje veoma siguran. Najsigurniji bih bio da se nalazim na svom radnom mjestu. Međutim, ja sam jednostavno zarobljenik!!!

Ganić: Evo, želite li autentičan glas komandanta Teritorijalne odbrane? Evo, samo trenutak da ga čujete!

Pukovnik Hasan Efendić: Pripadnici Teritorijalne odbrane! Pripadnici MUP-a! Prekinite vatru! Nemojte gađati ukoliko se ciljevi ne budu micali! Prekid vatre važi do 9.30 da se omogući gospodinu predsjedniku da bezbjedno dođe do Predsjedništva!

Izetbegović: Evo, pukovnik Gagović želi da se javi.

Gagović: Gospodine Ganiću! Prvo je uspostavljen prekid vatre! I to, polako, čini mi se, prilazi realizaciji. Drugo: da se izvuku i ranjeni i poginuli i sa jedne i sa druge strane. Treće: da drug general Kukanjac, dođe ovde /u Lukavicu/ bezbedno. I posle toga, ja vam garantujem i život svoj dajem gospodin Alija Izetbegović predsjednik Republike Bosne i Hercegovine će bezbedno da dođe u Predsjedništvo i upravlja dalje Bosnom i Hercegovinom!

Kljuić: Predlažem da general Đurđevac krene u transporteru sa predsjednikom lzetbegovićem prema gradu, a ja ću sa generalom Kukanjcem, iz Komande u transporteru krenuti prema vama!

Izetbegović: Stjepane, daj mi Kljujića... ovoga, Ganića!

Ganić: Slušam, Alija!

Izetbegović: Ganiću, imaš puna ovlaštenja, u moje ime,da naređuješ dok se ne nađem u Predsjedništvu! Sva tvoja naređenja su i moja naređenja.

Mislim da je ovo što smo sad dogovorili razumna stvar.

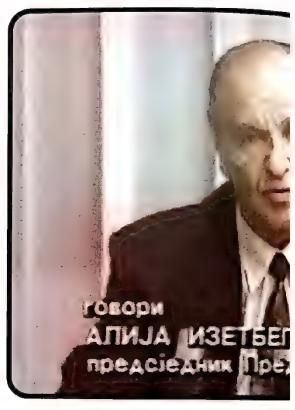
Neka se pokupe ranjenici.

Neka Kukanjac krene prema ovamo, ja ću prema tamo, negdje ćemo se naći i razmijeniti.

Napomena: U ovom trenutku ponovo smo izgubili telefonsku vezu sa kasarnom JNA u Lukavici, predgradu Sarajeva. U nastavku Dnevnika uspostavili smo vezu između članova Predsjedništva Ganića i Kljujića sa Kolomom Doylom, jedinim međunarodnim diplomatskim zvaničnikom u Sarajevu koji je naravno, znao šta se dešava u Lukavici i u Sarajevu. U Dnevnik su se sa novim informacijama o granatiranju Sarajeva uključivale kolege Senad Pećanin i Zoran O. Milanović iz MUP-a RBiH te ministar odbrane RBiH Jerko Doko.

Nakon jednog sata...





Hadžifejzović: We have Alija Izetbegović on the line again. Are you still in Lukavica?

Izetbgović: Yes, yes, I'm still in Lukavica.

Hadžifejzović: How do you feel?

Izetbegović: Fine.

Hadžifejzović: This programme is broadcast in America. It's broadcast all over the world, and a great many radio stations also take feeds from it. Do you have a television set there?

Izetbegović: No, we don't.

Hadžifejzović: So you probably won't have heard or seen that we came to an agreement during the programme. Mr Doyle was on the programme, and he said explicitly that the firing must stop and also that he was ready to go to Lukavica to pick you up.

Give General Durdevac this number, it's the number for General McKenzie, the UNPROFOR Commander, have him call about the technicalities of the hand-over: the number is 460611.

Izetbegović: Very well.

Hadžifejzović: Mr President, are they treating you well?





Hadžifejzović: Ponovo na liniji imamo Aliju Izetbegovića. Još ste u Lukavici?

izetbegović: Da, da, još sam u Lukavici.

Hadžifejzović: Kako se osjećate?

Izetbegović: Dobro.

Hadžifejzović: Ovaj prijenos ide u Ameriku, ide u cijeli svijet, mnoge radiostanice ga preuzimaju.

lmate li vi tamo televizor?

Izetbegović: Nemamo.

Hadžifejzović: Mi smo imali u toku emisije jedan dogovor, koji Vi vjerovatno niste ni čuli, ni vidjeli. Gospodin Doyle se javio u naš program, on je izričito zahtijevao da se prestane sa puenjavom i da je spreman da dođe po vas u Lukavicu.

Dajte generalu Đurđevcu ovaj broj generala Mekenzija, komandanta UNPROFOR-a, neka mu se javi zbog tehničkih detalja razmjene: 460-611.

Izetbegović: Dobro.

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine predsjedniče, da li se sa Vama korektno postupa?

2 May 1992

NEWS TV SARAJEVO

Izetbegović: Yes, yes, absolutely. As far as that's concerned, I have no complaints, except that obviously I'm not here of my own free will.

Hadžifejzović: Could you just explain to me how you came to be there ...



Izetbegović: I flew in to Sarajevo airport in a UN aircraft, on my own authority. When we landed there were soldiers waiting for us. An hour later, Colonel Magazin came and informed us that he had orders from Kukanjac to escort me to Lukavica. And then I called you...

Hadžifejzović: We have a confirmed report from Colm Doyle, who knows that permission to land at Sarajevo airport came directly from Belgrade.

Izetbegović: It's obvious that it would have been better for me personally if I hadn't taken the risk. But things are as they are.

You needn't worry about me at all.

My greetings to the citizens of Sarajevo. They should defend the city, if they come under attack. Naturally, they must not attack anyone.

Hadžifejzović: Is General Đurđevac there?

Izetbegović: No, Co onel Gagović is here.

Hadžifejzović: Colonel Gagović. This is the Television.

Hadžifejzović speaking.

We have just been told that the Ambassador of the United States, Mr Warren Zimmermann, has been informed of the whereabouts of the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović. I would ask you to allow him, at Ambassador Zimmermann's request, to call the following number by sate lite: 011-645-655.

You see, Colonel, this is being proadcast all over the world, via satellite, it's being broadcast to all the Yugoslav Republics or states, whatever you want to call them.

So you see that a huge responsibility lies on your shoulders.

Gagović: We all have huge responsibilities!

Hadžifejzović: Yes, but it is still a major international and diplomatic issue: the President of a sovereign country is being held prisoner in a military barracks!

I ask you and General Durđevac to contact General McKenzie at UNPROFOR headquarters and that you let President Izetbegović call Mr Zimmerman in Belgrade on the number we just gave, 645-655.

Gagović: Yes, yes! I get it! Here, just a moment, the President wants to speak to you.

Izetbegović: Da, da, sasvim korektno. U tom pogledu ja nemam prigovora, osim naravno, što nisam ovdje dobrovoljno.

Hadžifejzović: Hoćete li mi samo objasniti tu situaciju kako ste došli...

Izetbegović: Ja sam se na vlastitu odgovornost avionom UN-misije spustio na aerodrom u Sarajevu. Nakon toga su nas vojnici dočekali. Poslije sat vremena došao je pukovnik Magazin i saopštio da po naređenju generala Kukanjca treba da me sprovedu u Lukavicu. I onda sam vam se ja javio...

Hadžifejzović: Mi imamo provjerenu informaciju od Koloma Doyla, koji to zna, da je odobrenje za vaše slijetanje na Sarajevski aerodrom došlo direktno iz Beograda.

Izetbegović: Za mene lično, očigledno, bi bilo bolje da nisam prihvatio taj rizik.

Ali, stanje je tako kako jeste.

Za mene se nemojte sekirati ništa.

Ja pozdravljam građane Sarajeva. Oni treba da brane grad ako budu napadnuti. Nikog da ne napadaju, naravno.

Hadžifejzović: Ima li tu generala Đurđevca?

Izetbegović: Ne, tu je pukovnik Gagović.

Hadžifejzović: Pukovniče Gagoviću. Televizija. Hadžifejzović na liniji.

Upravo smo dobili informaciju da je ambasador Sjedinjenih Američkih Država gospodin Waren Zimmerman obaviješten o tome gdje se nalazi predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH Alija Izetbegović i ja bih Vas zamolio da mu omogućite, na zahtjev ambasadora Zimmermana, da mu se javi na ovaj broj telefona: 011/645-655.

Vidite, pukovniče, ovaj televizijski prijenos ide u cijeli svijet, preko satelita, prenose nas sve jugoslovenske republike ili države, kako hoćete.

Prema tome, na Vama je zaista velika odgovornost!

Gagović: Na svima nama je velika odgovornost!

Hadžifejzović: Da, ipak se radi o jednom velikom, međunarodnom, diplomatskom svjetskom presedanu da jedan predsjednik jedne suverene države bude zatočen u jednoj vojnoj kasarni! Ja bih Vas zamolio da Vi ili general Đurđevac stupite u kontakt sa generalom Mekenzijem u štabu UNPROFOR-a, a da gospodinu predsjedniku Izetbegoviću omogućite da nazove gospodina Zimmermana u Beograd, rekosmo 645-655.

Gagović: Da, da! Jasno! Evo, momenat, gospodin predsjednik vas želi.

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine predsjedniče, ovo je važna stvar!

Ambasador SAD-a Waren Zimmerman obaviješten je gdje se Vi nalazite i preko nas traži da mu se javite u Beograd na telefon 011/645-655. Ja bih Vas zamolio da Vi nazovete ambasadora Zimmermana da s njim porazgovarate jer vas je on tražio da se čuje sa Vama.



Hadžifejzović: Mr President, this is very important!

The Ambassador of the US, Warren Zimmermann, has been told where you are and asks that you contact him in Belgrade on 011 645-655. I am asking you, please, to call Ambassador Zimmerman and talk to him, since he has asked to talk to you.

Izetbegović: Very well, thank you. God bless you Senad!... click!

Hadžifejzović: We have lost the connection to Lukavica... Somebody from the Ministry of the Interior is calling!

Zoran O. Milanović: Colonel Gagović, who is ho ding President Izetbegović in custody, has made several appearances on Sarajevo Television, on your programme, Senad, and he's one of the JNA officers who bears the greatest responsibility for the high-quality heavy ammunition currently being used to target the very Radio-Television Centre you are broadcasting from.

Our most recent information is that the Serb Commander of the Territorial Defence of Novo Sarajevo, Danilo Veselinović, has given orders to make ready to shell Radio-Television Sarajevo. We heard them on a radio intercept!

Hadžifejzović: Yes.

I've known you for a long time, Zoka. This is the worst news you've ever given me!
This means they'll be firing mortars at us...
It'll be yet another attack on the truth!
We're just receiving the evidence of our own ears that they are targeting and hitting us.

Note: This was the longest and the most dramatic Sarajevo Television, or in other words Bosnia and Herzegovina Television, News broadcast in its history, lasting exactly three and a half hours.

President Izetbegović and General Kukanjac were exchanged on 3 May 1992. The exchange took place in accordance with the principles agreed during the News broadcast.

Unfortunately there were a great many casualties...

02. maj 1992. DNEVNIK TV SARAJEVO

Izetbegović: Da, hvala vam. Živjeli Senade!... klik!

Hadžifejzović: Nemamo više vezu sa Lukavicom... Neko se javlja iz MUP-a!

Zoran O. Milanović: U program Televizije Sarajevo, kod tebe Senade, vrlo često se uključivao pukovnik Gagović koji drži u zatočeništvu predsjednika Izetbegovića a on je jedan od oficira JNA koji je najzaslužniji za kvalitetno i teško naoružanje kojim se upravo sada gađa radiotelevizijski dom iz kojeg se vi sada javljate!!!

Imamo najnoviju informaciju da je komandant srpske teritorijalne odbrane Novo Sarajevo, Danilo Veselinović, naredio da se pripremi raketiranje Radio-televizije Sarajevo. Uhvatili smo to na radiovezi!!!

Hadžifejzović: Da.
Ja te dugo znam, Zoka. Nikad mi goru informaciju nisi spremio!
Da će nas torpedovati, znači...
To će biti još jedan u nizu pucnjeva u istinu!
Upravo dobijamo "zvučnu" potvrdu da nas gađaju i pogađaju...

Napomena: Bio je ovo najduži i najdramatičniji Dnevnik Televizije Sarajevo, odnosno Televizije Bosne i Hercegovine u njenoj historiji. Trajao je tačno pet sati i trideset minuta.

Predsjednik Izetbegović i general Kukanjac razmijenjeni su 3. maja 1992. godine.

Razmjena je izvršena po principu kako je i dogovoreno u ovom Dnevniku.

Nažalost, uz mnogo žrtava...

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11 May 1992 NEWS TVBIH

We have learned from our colleagues in Yutel that they will cease broadcasting as of ton'ght.

They have their own explanation for this, and our colleague Goran Milić had prepared a piece on it for our news broadcast. However, by decision of certain people on the new Board of RTV Sarajevo. who are on duty today on the Sarajevo Television Desk /Elmir Bračković/, this feature is not to be broadcast on this News!

As far as we are concerned, every moral, technical, professional and humanitarian support goes to our colleagues from Yutel. But they are professionals too, and they know what decisions have to be made.

29 May 1992

NEWS TVBIH

General Ratko Mladić's FIRST 'TELEVISION APPEARANCE'

Hadžifejzović: Last night, the aggressors destroyed more buildings than during the entire days of attacks on Sarajevo!

We have received a recording of the order to attack Sarajevo, given by General Ratko Mladić and Colonel Mirko Vukašinović. The recording came to us from the Headquarters of the Territorial Defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Viewers may now hear for themselves how targets are selected in Sarajevo.

Mladić: Hello! General Mladić!

Vukašinović: Colonel Vukašinović.

Mladić: Vukašinović! Ratko?

Vukašinović: Mirko, Mirko.

Mladić: What have you got ready for action?

Vukašinović: I've got those up there, from Hreš.

Mladić: What can you target?

Vukašinović: Well, from here I can target as far as the barracks.









Prema informacijama koje smo dobili od naših kolega iz Yutela, taj program od večeras više neće biti emitovan!!!

Oni imaju svoje objašnjenje, obrazloženje. Kolega Goran Milić pripremio je objašnjenje o tome za ovaj naš Dnevnik. Međutim, odlukom nekih ljudi iz novog Upravnog odbora RTV Sarajevo koji su danas dežurni u Desk-u Televizije Sarajevo /Elmir Bračković, op.a./ taj prilog se neće emitovati u ovom dnevniku!

Što se nas tiče, sva moralna, tehnička, profesionalna i ljudska podrška ide u korist kolegama iz Yutela. Ali, oni su takođe profesionalci i znaju šta odlučuju.

29. maj 1992.

PRVI "TELEVIZIJSKI NASTUP" generala Ratka Mladića

Hadžifejzović: Sinoć su agresori uništili više objekata nego za svih 52 dana napada na Sarajevo! Iz Štaba Teritorijalne odbrane Republike Bosne i Hercegovine dobili smo snimak naređenja za napad na Sarajevo generala Ratka Mladića i pukovnika Mirka Vukašinovića. Čućete, poštovani gledaoci, kako se biraju ciljevi po Sarajevu.

Mladić: Halo! General Mladić!

Vukašinović: Pukovnik Vukašinović.

Mladić: Vukašinoviću! Ratko?

Vukašinović: Mirko, Mirko.

Mladić: Šta imaš spremno ti za dejstvo?

Vukašinović: Imam gore ove iz Hreše.

Mladić: Kuda možeš da tučeš?

Vukašinović: Pa, mogu ovamo do kasarne.

Mladić: Je li možeš da tučeš Velušiće?









29 May 1992

NEWS TV BIH

Mladić: Is Velušiće within range?

Vukašinović: Yes, it is.

Mladić: Have you got your sights set for targets there?

Vukašinović: Yes, I have.

Mladić: Have you or haven't you?

Vukašinović: Yes, yes, I have.

Mladić: How soon can you get started?

Vukašinović: Well, let me see, five or ten minutes at the most.

the Ottoman heart of Sarajevo

Mladić: And, tell me, is Baščaršija within range?

Vukašinović: Yes. Yes, it is, it is.

Mladić: Then loose off a salvo at Baščaršija!

Vukašinović: Understood!

Mladić /later/: General Mladić. Don't panic. First, who are you?

Vukašinović: Vukašinović.

Mladić: Vukašinović? Colonel? Keep the Presidency building and Parliament under direct fire, and keep

firing at intervals, not too close, until I order you to stop.

Vukašinović: Understood.

Kovačević: Kovačević here.

Unidentified Serb officer: Kovačević, General Mladić's orders are to keep Parliament and the Preside-

ncy building under fire.

Kovačević: Parliament and the Presidency? OK, so I'm to lay off the Police Headquarters for now?









Vukašinović: Može.

Mladić: Je li imaš nanišanjeno cilj tamo? (!)

Vukašinović: Imam.

Mladić: Je li imaš ili nemaš?

Vukašinović: 1mam. 1mam!

Mladić: Za koliko vremena možeš?

Vukašinović: Pa, eto, za pet do deset minuta maksimalno.

Mladić: A, reci mi, možeš li da tučeš Baščaršiju?

Vukašinović: Može. Mogu, mogu.

Mladić: Po Baščaršiji, plotun pali!!!

Vukašinović: Razumem!

Mladić /malo kasnije/: General Mladić. Bez panike. Ko si ti, prvo?

Vukašinović: Vukašinović.

Mladić: Vukašinović? Pukovnik? Direktnim pogocima držite pod vatrom Predsjedništvo i Skupštinu

i tucite polako po intervalima dok ja ne naredim da se prekine.

Vukašinović: Razumem.

Kovačević: Ovde Kovačević.

Srpski oficir XY: Kovačeviću, naređenje generala Mladića da držiš pod vatrom Skupštinu i Predsje-

dništvo.

Kovačević: Skupštinu i Predsjedništvo? Dobro, da onda Dom milicije sada ne radim?

Srpski oficir XY: Dom milicije? Treba, treba!









29 May 1992

Unidentified Serb officer: The Pol'ce HQ? No, keep that under fire too!

Mladić: Has the Presidency building received any hits?

Unidentified Serb officer: It wil, right now. Any minute now!

Mladic: So, has it been hit? He told me he'd targeted it!

Unidentified Serb officer: No, it hasn't.

Mladić: What the fuck's this, he lied to me!

Unidentified Serb officer: He's going to target it now! In a couple of minutes!

Mladić: Has anything hit Baščaršija?

Unidentified Serb office: Baščaršija, yes, a whole salvo.

Mladić: What with?

Unidentified Serb office: I can't see, so I'm not sure.

Mladić: Come on, check it out. And let off another salvo!

Unidentified Serb officer: Here we go, Zijo's going to fire. And I'll target the Presidency and Parliament! Do you mean the Republic Parliament? OK! Zijo'll target the čaršija! Let's go!

Mladić: Vukašinović! What are the fellows up in Hreš targeting?

Vukašinović: They're targeting the Presidency, Parliament and Baščaršija. But before tnat, they were targeting Velešići and Pofalići.

Mladić: Target Velešići and Baščaršija again, from both quarters, and the Presidency too. Three salvos each, fire! Which targets do you suggest now?

Vukašinović: I wouldn't fire at these targets anymore, I'd target Pofalići.

Mladić: No, what do you want with Pofalići?

Vukašinović: We have just fired one salvo at it!

Mladić: Velešići, target Velešići!









Mladić: Je li Predsjedništvo tučeno?!

Srpski oficir XY: Evo, sad će. Svakog momenta!

Mladić: Je li tučeno? On mi je rekao da je tuk'o!

Srpski oficir XY: Ne, nije.

Mladić: Pa, šta je, koju pičku materinu me onda slagao ?!

Srpski oficir XY: Sad će da tuče! Za dva, tri, minuta!

Mładić: Je li po Baščaršiji nešto tuče?

Srpski oficir XY: Po Baščaršiji jeste, jedan plotun.

Mladić: Čime?

Srpski oficir XY: Pošto ne vidím, nisam siguran.

Mladić: Hajde, proveri. 1 još jedan plotun pali!

Srpski oficir YX: Evo, sad će "Zijo" da tuče. Ja idem na Predsjedništvo i na Skupštinu!

Je li republičku Skupštinu? Uredu! "Zijo" će čaršiju tući! Idemo!

Mladić: Vukašinoviću! Šta tuku ovi odozgo sa Hreše?

Vukašinović: Tuku Predsjedništvo, Skupštinu i Baščaršiju. A prije toga su tukli Velešiće i Pofaliće.

Mladić: Tuci ponovo Velešiće, Baščaršiju, s jedne i druge strane i Predsjedništvo. Po tri plotuna, opali!

Koje ciljeve mi sada predlažeš?

Vukašinović: Ja više ne bih po ovim ciljevima, prebacio bih vatru na Pofaliće.

Mladić: Nemoj, šta ćeš na Pofalićima?!

Vukašinović: Zato što smo samo jedan plotun po njima!

Mladić: Velušiće, tuci Velušiće!











Vukašinović: Velešiće. Vukašinović: Velešići. Mladić: Velešiće tuci i Pofaliće tuci. Tamo Mladić: Target Velešići and target Pofalići. Not many Serbs live there. Fire close to Hunema srpskog življa mnogo. Tuci oko one mska Gora and Dure Dakovića. Is that clear? Humske gore i Dure Dakovića. Jel' ti jasno?! Vukašinović: Understood. Vukašinović: Razumem. Mladić: Target the artillery observation Mladić: Idi na artiljerijsko osmatranje. Da post. So they can't sleep! Let's drive them ne mogu da spavaju! Da im razvučemo paout of their minds! And fire one more salvo met njihovu!!! Predsjedništvo mi još jedan at the Presidency. plotun opali. Vukašinović: Understood...

Vukašinović: Razumem...

8 June 1992

NEWS TV BIH

Something that symbolizes this city

Last night Amela Aganović gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl, in her flat in the Sature 16.5.15 urb of Dobrinja!

Congratulations to the happy mother, and to father Dževad!

Incidentally, this is the second delivery that has taken place without a doctor present, but with only the assistance of a midwife, a modest woman known simply as Jelena, since this part of the city was totally cut off sixty days ago.

People love each other much more, so there are more births too.

17 June 1992

NEWS TV BIH

Jerko Doko, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, joins the programme LIVE.

Hadžifejzović: Minister of Defence, Jerko Doko s at the press centre in the Presidency building, and he joins us now live.

The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina has just issued a statement on the stepping-up of the attacks on the Republic.

Doko: This was a calculated ceasefire. When occupying forces propose a ceasefire, one knows at once that it's to show the public they are for peace, and that they'll follow it up with an assault. The purpose of this was to block the UN Resolution on opening "Sarajevo" airport and partitioning the city.





Sinoč je u sarajevskom naselju Dobrinja, Amela Aganović u stanu rodila blizance, sina i kćerku!

Majci i ocu Dževadu čestitamo!

Inače, u toku šezdesetodnevne, totalne blokade ovog naselja, ovo je drugi porođaj koji bez prisustva ljekara pomaže akušerka Jelena, skromna žena bez prezimena.

Mi se puno više volimo, pa zato više i rađamo.

17. juni 1992.

(UŽIVO) uključenje u program, Jerko Doko, ministar odbrane Republike BiH

Hadžifejzović: U Press centru u Predsjedništvu BiH, uživo u programu je ministar odbrane Republike Bosne i Hercegovine Jerko Doko.

Predsjedništvo BiH upravo je dalo svoj stav o intenziviranju napada na Republiku.

Doko: Ovo je primirje bilo sračunato. Čim je ponuđeno od okupatora zna se zašto ga on nudi, da bi javnosti pokazao da je on za mir a potom da napadne. Ova akcija ima za cilj sprečavanje Rezolucije UN-a o otvaranju /sarajevskog/ Aerodroma, o podjeli Sarajeva.

Hadžifejzović: Mi smo prije tri večeri izrazili sumnju da će doći do primirja o otvaranju Aerodroma.





17 June 1992

NEWS TV BIH

Hadžifejzović: Three nights ago we said we doubted whether there would be a ceasefire and · · · · airport would be re-opened

Doko: We have a sector that monitors those malefactors Karadžić and Mladić when they talk to the r superiors in Belgrade and ask for more manpower and for air support. They did provide some additional manpower, some people came and joined them from Serbia and Montenegro

Hadžifejzović: How long must we endure th's onslaught from the hills, and respect the ceasefire so as to prove to the international community that we are in favour of peace, no matter how disastrous it is for us?

Doko: Well, this isn't really the policy we're adopting. We've told the outside world that we wouldn't be the first to attack, but that we are retaliating when attacked, we are acting in self-defence and won't yield an inch in the defence of the Republic.

I am puzzled by UNPROFOR's reaction. I don't know why they're behaving like this. Can't they take a stand against Mladić?

l exhort every citizen of Sarajevo and of the Republic as a whole, a.l these unfortunate, long-suffering people /sheltering/ in the cellars, to be patient and to take care.

When the enemy talks loudest about a ceasefire, that's when we need to be at our most cautious.

20 June 1992

NEWS TV BIH

Today, three months after the outbreak of the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has declared a state of war.

And about time too.

23 June 1992

NEWS TV BIH

Our camera crew has been in the Sarajevo maternity hospital today.

/Twenty babies are born there each day./

If we had known there'd be war, we'd have 'done our stuff' a bit better nine months ago.







Doko: Mi imamo službu koja prati zlikovce Karadžića i Mladića kada razgovaraju sa svojim pretpostavljenim u Beogradu i traže pomoć u ljudstvu i avijaciji. U ljudstvu su im izišli u susret, nešto im je ljudi došlo iz Srbije i Crne Gore.

Hadžifejzović: Do kada ćemo trpjeti napade sa brda i tako poštujući primirje dokazivati svjetskoj javnosti da smo za mir, ma koliko to bilo za nas pogubno?

Doko: Pa, mi baš ne slijedimo tu politiku u pravom smislu. Mi smo svijetu rekli da nećemo prvi napadati, ali na napade uzvraćamo, branimo se i nećemo popustiti ni milimetar u odbrani Republike. Mene zbunjuje ponašanje UNPROFOR-a. Ne znam zašto je to tako. Oni ne mogu da se odupru toj sili Mladića?

Ja poručujem građanima Sarajeva i širom Republike, svim jadnim, napaćenim u podrumima da budu strpljivi i da se čuvaju.

Kada neprijatelj najviše govori o primirju tad se najviše treba čuvati.

20. juni 1992.

Predsjedništvo Republike Bosne i Hercegovine danas je, tri mjeseca nakon početka agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, proglasilo ratno stanje!

Bilo je krajnje vrijeme.

23. juni 1992.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Naša ekipa danas je bila u sarajevskom porodilištu. /Tamo se rada dvadeset beba dnevno, op.a./

Da smo znali da će biti rat, prije devet mjeseci bismo "radili" malo bolje.



5 July 1992

NEWS TVBIH

While Europe, that sluggish old lady, struggles unsuccessfully to resolve the issue of Sarajevo a rport. the aggressor stubbornly and increasingly goes about achieving its principal objective: genocide and expelling people.

Let's not forget that in 1878, when none of today's international organizations existed, Austria-Hungary received the go-ahead from certain countries to enter Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reason: thirty thousand refugees. To the Europe of that time, this was of major importance.

But now fifty thousand dead, a million and a half refugees, thousands of dead boys and girls. are not enough for Europe to help us - merely enough to send a few aircraft with humanitarian aid. We're not demoralized. We're just embittered.

8 July 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Members of the Artists' Company of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina swore the oath of loyalty to the homeland today.

Nazif Gljiva, composer of folk music and commanding officer of the Artists' Company:

We want to win, but honestly! Not to be like them. To win. But not that it be said, tomorrow. 'We were just like them'.

11 July 1992

NEWS TVBIH

In Memoriam

Hajrudin Krvavac has died. Our Šiba.

A leading spirit, an institution in himself of the Bosnia and Herzegovina film industry.

A fine man, a really great man.

All I know now is that we watched the great movie directors of the world. But only Šiba managed to achieve one thing: he showed us how a local, Balkan, partisan movie can become a cult for successive generations!

Just open your eyes, and what can you see all around but - Walter!

20 July 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Today, though it isn't even recognized /as a state/, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has got itself a Prime Minister.

Who is he? An American tax dodger who owes eight million dollars, Milan Panić.









Dok se stara i spora gospoda Evropa bezuspješno bakće oko sarajevskog aerodroma, dotle agresor upomo i pojačano radi na ostvarenju svog osnovnog cilja - genocidu i protjerivanju ljudi.

Da podsjetimo:1878 godine, kada nije postojala nijedna od današnjih međunarodnih organizacija, Austro-Ugarska je od pojedinih zemalja dobila dozvolu da ude u Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Razlog: trideset hiljada izbjeglica. To je tadašnjoj Evropi bilo itekako važno.

Danas, pedeset hiljada mrtvih, milion i po izbjeglih, hiljade mrtvih dječaka i djevojčica nisu dovoljni Evropi da nam pomogne - tek da nam spremi nekoliko aviona humanitarne pomoći.

Nismo demoralisani. Samo smo ogorčeni.

08. juli 1992.

Zakletvu svojoj domovini Bosni i Hercegovini položili su danas pripadnici Umjetničke čete Armije Bosne i Hercegovine.

Nazif Gljiva, kompozitor folk-muzike, komandant Umjetničke čete:

"Želim da pobijedimo, ali pošteno! Da ne budemo kao oni. Da pobijedimo i da ne bude sutra: "Mi smo bili kao oni."

11. juli 1992.
DNEVNIK TVBIH

In memoriam

Umro je naš Hajrudin Krvavac. Naš Šiba.

Velikan i pojam BH kinematografije.

Siajan čovjek, ljudina.

U ovom času znam samo da smo gledali velike svjetske filmske režisere ali je samo Šibi uspjelo u jednom: otkrio nam je kako jedan domaći, balkanski, partizanski film može generacijama biti kult! Pogledajte danas i svuda oko sebe vidjećete - Valtera!

20. juli 1992.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Danas je, nepriznata, Savezna Republika Jugoslavija dobila premijera. To je američki poreski dužnik, dužan osam miliona dolara, Milan Panić.







1 August 1992 NEWS TVBIH

Minister of the Interior Jusuf Pušina joins the News LIVE

Hadžifejzović: We have Jusuf Pušina, Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the line.

It's a bit embarrassing when the police ask questions, and it is also a bit awkward to question the police. Where has the Minister been these days?

Pušina: The Minister of the Interior has been abroad these days.

Hadžifejzović: What is this badge you are holding?

Pušina: This is the Interpol badge.

Hadžifejzović: What are the chances of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, meaning the Ministry, becoming a member of the world's largest police organization?

Pušina: Mr Kendal, Interpol General Secretary, confirmed to me in Lyon that Bosnia and Herzegovina will become a member of Interpol in the first week of November!

Hadžifejzović: It's been years since Interpol has so much to do with war criminals.

Pušina: We won't become members of Interpol just for the sake of it. Bosnia and Herzegovina will apply the Interpol regulations and prosecute everyone who has been involved in terrorist activities.

Hadžifejzović: I see you are wearing a suit... Can we expect to see you in uniform, too, following this interview?

Pušina: Yes. Uniform and trainers.





(UŽIVO) Uključenje ministra unutarnjih poslova Jusufa Pušine u Dnevnik

Hadžifejzović: Na direktnoj link-liniji je Jusuf Pušina, ministar unutrašnjih poslova Republike BiH. Malo je neprijatno kada policija pita, a malo nezgodno je i pitati policiju. Gdje je ministar bio ovih dana?

Pušina: Ministar unutrašnjih poslova ovo vrijeme je bio u inostranstvu.

Hadžifejzović: Šta znači ta značka u vašim rukama?

Pušina: Ovo je značka Interpola.

Hadžifejzović: Kakve su šanse da Republika BiH, odnosno Ministarstvo, postane član najveće svjetske policijske organizacije?

Pušina: U Lionu, gospodin Kendal, generalni sekretar Interpola, mi je potvrdio da će Bosna i Hercegovina u prvoj sedmici novembra postati članica Interpola!

Hadžifejzović: Mnogo godina Interpol nije imao većih poslova oko ratnih zločina?

Pušina: Mi nećemo biti članovi Interpola reda radi. BiH će po pravilu Interpola goniti sva lica koja su učestvovala u terorističkim aktivnostima.

Hadžifejzović: Vidim u odijelu ste. Za očekivati je da nakon ovog razgovora obučete i uniformu.

Pušina: Da. Uniformu i patike.





4 August 1992

NEWS TVB H

Stjepan Šiber, Deputy Commanding Officer of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, joins the News LIVE

Hadžifejzović: We have Mr Šiber on the line.

Mr Šiber, what's going on?

Šiber: Dear friends! The time has come for the final showdown!

We have waited ong enough for UN Resolution 757 to be enforced.

What I have to do, and it's not difficult for me, is to urge all those who have weapons to join the Territorial Defence; I urge everyone on the aggressor side who is armed to come over to our forces. We guarantee them their freedom! I invite the troops from the Croatian Defence Council /HVO/, from HOS, to come over to the joint forces for the defence of the country!

Hadžifejzović: If it isn't confidential, can we speak about some of the military outcomes?

Šiber: I'm very optimistic by nature. I like to enjoy myself, and wnat gives me particular pleasure is the happiness of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to whom I have belonged ever since I was born! I want to extend my greetings to the defenders, the fathers and mothers of the fighters wno have given their lives for the freedom of our common homeland, the homeland of Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The people who survive will honour the blood of their sons, and will be grateful.

20 August 1992

NEWS TVBIH

It's a long time since the international press centre had guests such as these: the supreme leaders of the Catholic and Islamic religious communities, Archbishop Puljić and Reis Sel'moski, and the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Jovo Divjak.

Reisu-I-ulema Jakub Selimoski, head of the Islamic Community of Yugoslavia

The unprecedented atrocities perpetrated by Serb extremists against the Muslim and Croat peoples and their religious and secular buildings must in no way be a pretext for subjecting any of the Orthodox Serbs who nave remained in Sarajevo and elsewhere to unfounded suspicion and ill-treatment. We entreat our fellow citizens of Croat and Muslim nationality not to take justice into their own hands, and beg every Serb who was born here, and who wants to stay here with us in this shared community, to help us, courageously and with determination, to build this common life of ours,

Monsignor Vinko Puljić, Vrhbosnian Archbishop, head of the Catholic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina

This is not a Croatian state, nor can it be either a Serbian state or a Muslim state. It can only be a state if Muslims, Croats and Serbs alike recognize it as theirs.









(UŽIVO) Uključenje u Dnevnik, Stjepan Šiber zamjenik komandanta Armije RBiH

Hadžifejzović: U direktnoj vezi smo sa gospodinom Šiberom.

Gospodine Šiber, šta se ovo dešava?

Šiber: Dragi prijatelji! Kucnuo je čas za konačni obračun!

Mi smo dosta dugo čekali realizaciju Rezolucije 757 UN-a !!!

Ja moram, a nije mi teško to, da pozovem sve one koji imaju naoružanje da se jave Teritorijalnoj odbrani, pozivam sve naoružane ljude na strani agresora da priđu našim snagama. Garantiramo im slobodu! Pozivam jedinice Hrvatskog vijeća odbrane, HOS-a, da pristupe zajedničkim snagama u odbrani zemlje!

Hadžifejzović: Ako nije tajna, možemo li govoriti o nekim vojnim rezultatima?

Šiber: Ja sam veliki optimista. Volim da se radujem, posebno sreći bosanskohercegovačkih naroda čiji sam od rođenja! Želim da pozdravim branioce, očeve i majke onih boraca koji su dali svoj život za slobodu ove naše zajedničke, zajedničke otadžbine Muslimana, Srba i Hrvata. Krv njihovih sinova, narod koji preživi znaće cijeniti i znati zahvaliti.

20. avgust 1992.

Odavno međunarodni press-centar nije imao takve goste kakvi su bili danas: vrhovni poglavari katoličke i islamske vjerske zajednice, nadbiskup Puljić i Reis Selmovski, te zamjenik načelnika Štaba Oružanih snaga Jovo Divjak.

Reisu-l-ulema Jakub Selimoski, poglavar Islamske zajednice u Jugoslaviji:

Besprimjerni zločini izvršeni od strane srpskih ekstremista nad muslimanskim i hrvatskim narodom kao i njihovim vjerskim i svjetovnim objektima nikako ne smiju biti razlog da neki od pravoslavnih Srba koji su ostali u Sarajevu i drugdje doživljavaju nepotrebna sumnjičenja i maltretiranja. Sugrađane hrvatske i muslimanske nacionalnosti molimo da ne uzimaju pravdu u svoje ruke a sve Srbe koji su ovdje rođeni i s nama žele ostati u zajedništvu molimo da hrabro i ustrajno pomognu graditi zajednički život.

Nadbiskup vrhbosanski, monsinjor Vinko Puljić, poglavar Katoličke zajednice u BiH:

Niti je ovo hrvatska država, niti ovo može biti srpska država, niti muslimanska država. Ovo može biti jedino država da se u njoj prepoznaju i Muslimani i Hrvati i Srbi.









20 August 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Jovo Divjak, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

These are fateful days for every cit'zen of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but particularly for the Serbs who embarked on this war, led astray by the politics of the Serbian Democratic Party and who, because of their fascist leanings, have already lost thousands of Serb sons and daughters... All these mercenaries, chetniks, Šešelj supporters, White Eagles and all the rest of that rabble will go running back to Serbia, and you will be abandoned to your own devices...

We Serbs, citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have been in the ranks of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the very first day, have not sullied the goodname of the Serbian people, and I appeal to you to join the hundreds, the thousands of Serbs who are fighting the good fight shoulder to shoulder with their neighbours.

29 August 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Until recently, this was perfectly normal. And it still is and will remain so. For all that, the war gives us the right to highlight this moment.

This is how it goes: a Muslim marries a Serb woman, the witness marriage is a Croat, and all this takes place as Montenegrin shells are landing on us!

Bridegroom: I was a Muslim, and I am still a Muslim!

I have married a Serb woman who was and will remain a Serb!

Bride: The war couldn't stop us. We have won, just as we are going to win this war.

Best Man: Everyone's represented here! It's all going to be all right.

Hadžifejzović: Those who are firing at us must know that they are firing on a country that is exactly 803 years old. This is the anniversary of Europe's joining the civilized world: 29 August 1189 – Kulin Ban's Charter?

Happy birthday to all citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina!

ruled from 1180, when the country freed itself from both Byzantine and Hungar'an rule, to 1204. During his reign he established good relations with both Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and the ruler of Hum (Herzegovina) and with the Serbian grand Župan, Stjepan Nemanja. Trans.

Kulin Ban, first of the three most powerful kings of the independ-

ent mediaeval state of Bosnia.

10 September 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Tomorrow sees the start of the 'Sefarad 92' event, the quincentenary of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and their arrival in Sarajevo.

Five centuries later, Jews can return to Spain, but the state of war means that they have to leave Sarajevo.

In Spain, as here, the Jews and the Muslims shared a common fate.









20. avgust 1992.

Jovo Divjak, zamjenik načelnika Štaba Oružanih snaga Republike BiH:

Ovo su sudbonosni dani za sve gradane Republike Bosne i Hercegovine a posebno za Srbe koji su krenuli u rat, prevareni politikom Srpske demokratske stranke, i koji su zbog njihove fašisoidne orijentacije do sada izgubili na hiljade srpskih sinova i kćeri... Nastaće bežanija prema Srbiji svih plaćenika, četnika, šešeljovaca, Belih orlova i druge bagre a vi ćete ostati sami i napušteni...

Mi, Srbi, građani Republike Bosne i Hercegovine koji smo od prvog dana u redovima Armije Republike BiH, nismo ukaljali časno ime srpskog naroda i pozivam vas da se pridružite stotinama, hiljadama Srba koji se bore rame uz rame sa svojim komšijama...

29. avgust 1992.

To je do skora bilo normalno. I jeste i biće, ali ipak rat nam daje za pravo da zabilježimo i ovaj momenat.

Kombinacija je sljedeća: Musliman ženi Srpkinju, kum je Hrvat a sve to pod crnogorskim granatama!

Mladoženja: Bio sam Musliman, ostao sam Musliman!

Oženio sam Srpkinju koja je bila Srpkinja i ostaće Srpkinja 1

Mlada: Rat nas nije mogao spriječiti. Pobijedili smo kao što ćemo pobijediti u ovom ratu.

Kum: Sve imamo zastupljeno! Biće dobro.

Hadžifejzović: Oni koji pucaju neka znaju da pucaju na državu koja je stara tačno 803 godine! Ovo je datum ulaska Bosne u civilizaciju: 29. august 1189 – Povelja Kulina bana! Svim građanima Republike BiH sretan rođendan!

10. septembar 1992.

Sutra počinje manifestacija "Sefard 92" kojom se obilježava 500. godišnjica progona Jevreja iz Španije i njihovog dolaska u Sarajevo.

Pet vijekova kasnije Jevreji se mogu vratiti u Španiju ali zbog ratnih okolnosti moraju napustiti Sarajevo.

1 u Španiji i ovdje Jevreji su podijelili sudbinu sa muslimanima.









28 September 1992

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE: Mustafa Hajrulahović-Talijan, commanding officer of the First Corps of the Army Ismet Dahić, Deputy Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Hadžifejzović: Mustafa, every Sarajevan would like to ask you about the siege and the liberation of Sarajevo, with winter soon upon us.

Talijan: The most important task of the patriotic forces was the defence of Sarajevo, not to let those savages into the city, and in this we have succeeded.

Now we are joining forces to create proper military units.

Hadžifejzovič: It's not that people are down-hearted, they are holding out well and their spirits are still high, but for a I that we have the right to ask, after so many months' siege, whether something will happen soon, before the winter?

Talijan: The public needs to know what is surrounding the city of Sarajevo.

There enough arms, enough heavy weapons around Sarajevo to hold three-quarters of the entire country under siege.

Without any weapons to their name, our people found the strength to mount the defence. The first objective has been achieved. The second is to break the siege. That doesn't depend only on us.

Hadžifejzović: Is lifting the siege of Sarajevo a military or a political issue? Are some less willing to see the siege of the c'ty lifted?

Talijan: Lifting the siege is not just a military matter, but also a political one.

Hadžifejzović: Mr Dahić, you are deputy minister of police. The statement made by your colleague from the CSB /security services/, Bakir Alispahić, that it's the Serbo-Croat-Muslim mafia that's to blame for the siege of Sarajevo, has raised quite a storm, because if that's so it means there are a lot of people in this city who have no interest in seeing the siege lifted.

Dahić: It's true that some people don't want to see the siege lifted. It's in the interests of all kinds of criminals to keep the city under siege, and they are achieving their goals. That's obvious. It's the same outside Sarajevo, too.

Hadžifejzović: People are saying that as long as the last pathetic penny of their savings has been extracted from them, the siege won't be lifted!

How much truth is there in the allegation that people who have formed mafia-type organizations in this city are using political channels to prevent the siege from being lifted?

Dahić: The police are on the front lines for the most part. The city's full of criminals with stolen goods. People are struggling to survive, and parting with their last dinar to buy the basic goods they must have to live, and the criminals are exploiting this...



(UŽIVO) Mustafa Hajrulahović Talijan, komandant Prvog korpusa Armije RBiH Ismet Dahić, pomoćnik ministra unutarnjih poslova Republike BiH

Hadžifejzović: Mustafa, svaki Sarajlija bi vam postavio pitanje deblokade, oslobođenja Sarajeva. Zima je tu.

Talijan: Prevashodan zadatak patriotskih snaga bio je da se odbrani Sarajevo, da se ne dopusti tim divljacima da uđu u grad, što smo i uspjeli. Sada spajamo snage u prave vojne formacije.

Hadžifejzović: Ljudi nisu deprimirani, još se dobro drže, još nisu klonuli duhom. Međutim, višemjesečna blokada grada daje nam za pravio da pitamo da li će uskoro, prije zime biti nešto.

Talijan: Javnosti treba dati do znanja što se nalazi oko grada Sarajeva. Broj oružja i oruđa oko Sarajeva je toliki da bi se tri četvrtine Republike Bosne i Hercegovine mogle blokirati! Ovaj goloruki narod je smogao snage da se odbrani. Taj cilj je ostvaren. Drugi cilj je deblokada. To ne ovisi samo od nas.

Hadžifejzović: Da li je deblokada Sarajeva vojno ili političko pitanje? Da li je neko manje spreman da deblokira grad?

Talijan: U deblokadi nije u pitanju samo vojna struktura već i politička.

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine Dahić, vi ste pomoćnik ministra za policiju.

Mnogo bure je pokrenula izjava vašeg kolege iz CSB-a Bakira Alispahića da za blokadu Sarajeva krivicu snosi srpsko-hrvatsko-muslimanska mafija, što znači da u ovom gradu postoji mnogo ljudi kojima nije u interesu da se ovaj grad deblokira.

Dahić: Zaista je nekim ljudima stalo da se grad ne deblokira. Kriminalci svih vrsta i tipova ostvaruju svoj interes i svoje ciljeve sa blokadom grada. To je vidljivo. Tako je i van Sarajeva.

Hadžifejzović: Ljudi govore: "Dok se Sarajlijama i zadnja bijedna ušteđena marka ne izvuče iz džepa, od deblokade nema ništa!"

Koliko ima istine u tome da ljudi koji su mafijaški organizovani u ovom gradu ne dozvoljavaju putem političkih kanala da se grad deblokira?

Dahić: Policija je uglavnom, na liniji ratišta. U gradu su kriminalci sa pokradenom robom. Ljudi se bore da prežive i zadnji dinar daju za osnovne životne namirnice, a kriminalci to koriste...







28 September 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Do you have any specific information, and what is the police doing to prevent this?

Dahić: Ever since the war broke out the Ministry of the Interior has been keeping records of individuals and groups who nave looted property, whether state-owned or private. This property is being stored in warehouses, and then distributed in small lots on the market. If it's confiscated, it means nothing to the criminals. As soon as conditions allow, the police will do their part and bring the criminals to justice.

13 October 1992

NEWS TVBIH

And now for something rather unusual for a war-time news broadcast. A detail from a fashion show in Paris.

Top fashion models are getting fatter. We are getting thinner and thinner.

19 October 1992

NEWS TVBIH





Our guest LIVE in the studio is Kenan Slinić, head of the Sarajevo fire service

Hadžifejzović: There is a fierce political battle being waged in Serbia between Milošević, ćosić and Panić. If Serbia flares up, it will be the only fire that the firemen of Sarajevo, led by Kenan Slinić who is in the studio with us, won't be able to put out.

How many fires have you put out since the attacks on Sarajevo began?

Slinić: We've dealt with about four hundred and fifty fires since the start of the aggression against the city of Sarajevo. Sadly, seven firemen have lost their lives and thirty-six have been injured.

Hadžifejzović: You are helping Sarajevo. Is Sarajevo helping you?

Slinić: We have the help of civilians, private businessmen, companies. However, and this is very interesting, so far the most powerful company in the Republic, CENEX, has not given Sarajevo's firemen so much as a piece of paper, even though I have asked them. This is most regrettable. . .

28. septembar 1992.

Hadžifejzović: Imate li nekih konkretnih saznanja i šta policija radi da to spriječi?

Dahić: Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova ima evidenciju od početka rata o pojedincima i grupama koji su opljačkali imovinu, državnu i privatnu. Ta imovina je sklonjena u skladišta. Odatle se distribuira u manjim količinama na tržište. Ukoliko bude oduzeta, za kriminalce to je ništa. Onog momenta kada se steknu uslovi, policija će uraditi svoj dio posla i kriminalce privesti pravdi...

13. oktobar 1992.

U ratnom Dnevniku nešto neobično. Detalj sa modne revije u Parizu.

Manekenke su sve deblje. Mi smo sve mršaviji.

19. oktobar 1992.





(UŽIVO) gost u studiju Kenan Slinić, komandant vatrogasaca Sarajeva

Hadžifejzović: U Srbiji traje žestoka politička borba između Miloševića, Ćosića i Panića. Ako u Srbiji bukne, to će biti jedini požar koji neće moći da ugase sarajevski vatrogasci pod komandom Kenana Slinića koji je došao u naš studio.

Koliko ste požara ugasili otkad traju napadi na Sarajevo?

Slinić: Od početka agresije na grad Sarajevo ugasili smo preko 450 požara. Nažalost, sedam vatrogasaca je poginulo, a tridesetšest je ranjeno.

Hadžifejzović: Vi pomažete Sarajevu. Da li Sarajevo vama pomaže?

Slinić: Pomažu nam građani, privatnici, firme. Međutim, zanimljivo, najjača firma u Republici, CEN-EX, do sada vatrogascima Sarajeva nije dala ni komad papira mada sam ih ja molio. To je žalosno...

19 October 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Which of course doesn't mean that if they had a fire you wouldn't put it out?

Slinić: Well... I might hesitate a bit... but a job's a job...

The other thing I can't understand is UNPROFOR, who won't let humanitarian aid in the shape of equipment through to us. But we have been putting out fires in their buildings in the Marshal Tito barracks...

Hadžifejzović: Did they at least thank you...

Slinic: Yes, they thanked us by making it really hard for us to get in to put out the fire.

It was the first time I've ever been turned away from a fire!

It was the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina that intervened.

It was their premises that were on fire, but these Ukrainians, it's really tough getting through to them!

22 October 1992

NEWS TVBIH

That's it for now.

Let's hope that next time we'll have something intelligent to say, instead of all this nonsense.

25 October 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Our colleagues from the central control room tell us that during the News the image from the studio wasn't quite what it should be.

It was a bit darker /gloomier/ than usual.

But at least you can say that you watched a DARK "as hell" News.

28 October 1992

NEWS TVBIH

The police and the Army are 'taking steps to eradicate crime' in Sarajevo, though they are not doing enough. They have only just begun.

Those who steal bring the greatest shame on this town!

At this most difficult of times in our history, they are stealing from the mouths of our children, the sick and the injured. None of these measures will have any impact if all that happens is a few small-time dealers are arrested.

The big fish are still singing their sevdah, lurking safely in this murky maelstrom.

19. oktobar 1992.

Hadžifejzović: Što, naravno, ne znači da ako kod njih bukne požar, Vi to nećete gasiti?

Slinić: Pa... tu bih se malo predomišljao... ali, posao je posao...

lsto, ne mogu da shvatim UNPROFOR, ne daju da nam dođe humanitarna pomoć u opremi! A mi smo i njihove objekte gasili u Kasarni "Maršal Tito"...

Hadžifejzović: Jesu li se zahvalili, barem...

Slinić: Jesu se zahvalili na taj način što smo jedva ušli da gasimo!

Prvi put mi se desilo da me vrate sa požara!!!

Intervenisalo je Predsjedništvo BiH!

Gorjelo je baš njihovo ali ovi Ukrajinci, oni su za komunikaciju, baš teški!

22. oktobar 1992.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Sada je kraj.

Ostaje nam nada da će nam na pamet, osim gluposti, pasti i nešto pametno.

25. oktobar 1992.

Kolege iz režije kažu da u toku Dnevnika nismo imali baš korektnu sliku iz našeg studija.

Bila je nešto tamnija "mračnija" nego uobičajeno.

Ako ništa drugo možete reći da ste gledali MRAK Dnevnik.

25. oktobar 1992.

Policija i Armija u Sarajevu provode "neke mjere suzbijanja kriminala", mada to nije dovoljno. Tek su počeli. Lopovi su najveća sramota ovog grada! Oni upravo u najtežim trenucima u našoj istoriji kradu od usta djece, bolesnih i ranjenih! Efekta od svih ovih akcija neće biti ako se sve završi na hvatanju sitnih preprodavaca. Krupne ribe još uvijek bezbjedno pjevaju sevdah u vrtlogu mutnom...

2 November 1992

NEWS TVBIH

UNICEF has made a dreadful mistake in bringing in a humanitarian convoy for Sarajevo's children. More than seventy percent of the goods in the convoy were produced in our neighbouring country, the aggressor against us! These goods, of course, are not a gift - they were purchased in Serbia, butin purchasing them, UNICEF, a UN humanitarian organization, is in direct violation of the embargo on Serbia.

This 'gift' will be returned.

Advertisements for these goods, like 'Keep your head in these boots', 'Step out to happiness in Belgrade shoes' and 'Belgrade wishes you comfort in your boots', sound worse than morbid over here.

These shoes will be given to the children of Pale and Sokolac. And they should have them. There is no shame in asking for help in time of war, but we really cannot accept this sort of help. They can't take everything from us, but if they mean to take that much, they should know that our pride is not for the taking.

7 November 1992

NEWS TVBIH

There has been no reaction today to yesterday's resignation by Stjepan Kljuić from his post as member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Since he has resolved to quit, out of respect for what he called 'party discipline', Kıjuić should at least be given a send-off with a few words.

And since our official politicians of Bosnia and Herzegovina haven't seen to it. . .

There is no doubt that a GENTLEMAN has quit the political scene, we hope only temporarily. He is one of the few politicians in this misfortunate two-year-old democracy of Bosnia and Herzegovina who has nothing to be ashamed of.

Not a single statement that he has issued so far has created his political image with insults, smears and falsehoods at the expense of other peoples or individuals.

He is one of the few people who, from a national perspective, has provided an opportunity for this to be a normal, civic state.

The only unsolved mystery about Mr Kljuić is Where does he get all that pipe tobacco?







UNICEF je napravio katastrofalnu grešku dovezavši u humanitarnom konvoju djeci Sarajeva čak sedamdeset posto robe proizvedene u susjednoj, agresorskoj zemlji!

Ta roba, naravno, nije poklon - ona je u Srbiji kupljena, a kupovinom, UNICEF, humanitarna organizacija UN-a, direktno je kršila embargo UN-a zaveden prema Srbiji!!!

Ovaj "poklon" će biti vraćen.

Reklame na ovoj robi poput: "Čizma glavu čuva", "Srećni koraci u obući Beograd" i "Beograd vam želi ugodnost u čizmama", ovdje zvuče više nego morbidno.

Ovu obuću će dobiti djeca na Palama i Sokocu. I treba da je dobiju.

Rat je i nije sramota tražiti, no ovu "pomoć" zaista nismo mogli primiti.

Ne mogu nam baš sve uzeti ali ako su naumili da mnogo toga uzmu, onda treba da znaju da naš ponos ne mogu uzeti.

07. novembar 1992.

Danas nije bilo reakcija na jučerašnju ostavku Stjepana Kljuića na funkciju člana Predsjedništva Republike Bosne i Hercegovine.

Kada je već odlučio da ode, poštujući kako kaže "partijsku disciplinu", Kljuića treba ispratiti makar sa nekoliko riječi.

Kad već to nije učinila zvanična bh politika...

Nema sumnje da sa političke scene, nadamo se privremeno, odlazi GOSPODIN . Jedan od rijetkih političara dvogodišnje, nesretne bosanskohercegovačke "demokratije" koji se nema čega stidjeti.

Čovjek koji do sada nijednom izjavom svoj politički imidž nije pravio uvredama, podmetanjima i lažima na račun drugih naroda i pojedinaca.

Jedan je od rijetkih koji je iz nacionalne perspektive otvarao i davao šansu normalnoj, građanskoj opciji ove države.

Jedina nejasnoća vezana za gospodina Kljuića jeste: Otkud mu onoliko duhana za lulu?



zeli vam ugodnost u čizmama



12 November 1992

NEWS TVBIH

The way it's going with the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council /HVO/ in Eastern Herzegovina, we could have spent this winter in Montenegro!

As it is, all our stolen television sets, video recorders, fridges, stoves and so on are there...

12 November 1992

NEWS TVBIH

If you can believe anyone from the News, it's our weatherman Slooodan Fazlagić. He is the guy who rightly forecast that after a largely rainy night and morning, it would snow.

His friends say of our colleague Slopodan Fazlagić, and this is typical of Sarajevo's jokes, say that he should change either his first name or his surname!

Watch out, it's ceasefire time!

17 November 1992

NEWS TVBIH

And now for something that our leaders don't talk about much, probably because they have enough - bread.

The latest resolution of the City Council is that if in future you get 233 grammes of bread, lucky you!

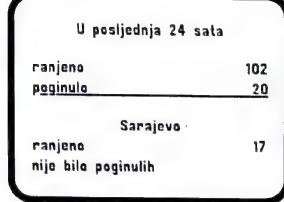
22 December 1992

NEWS TVBIH

Today is December 22, the former day of the former Yugoslav Federal Army.

Given that it was we who created the JNA in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is now up to us to administer the coup de grace.







12. novembar 1992. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Kako je bilo krenulo jedinicama Armije BiH i Hrvatskog vijeća obrane u istočnoj Hercegovini, mogli smo ovu zimu prezimiti u Crnoj Gori! Tamo su, uostalom, svi naši ukradeni televizori, videorekorderi, frižideri, šporeti i ostalo...

> 12. novembar 1992. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Ako ćete ikome vjerovati u ovom našem Dnevniku onda je to naš meteorolog Slobodan Fazlagić. Momak je pogodio da će nakon pretežno kišovite noći i jutra pasti snijeg!

Za našeg kolegu Slobodana Fazlagića prijatelji u sarajevskoj šali kažu da bi trebao da promijeni ili ime ili prezime!

Čuvajte se, primirje je!

17. novembar 1992. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Sada o onome o čemu odgovomi u ovoj zemlji malo govore -valjda zato što ga dovoljno imaju -o hljebu.

Po novim odlukama Skupštine grada, ako ubuduće dobijete 233 grama, blago vama !!!

> 22. decembar 1992. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Danas je 22. decembar, bivši dan bivše Jugoslovenske narodne armije. Kako smo upravo mi u BiH stvorili JNA, na nama je da joj i dohakamo!







22 December 1992

NEWS TVBIH

We end the News with the icing on the cake.

During these last nine months, Bosnia and Herzegovina Television has proved that it really is the Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have also proved it to the entire world.

This is also shown by the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina Television has become a member of Eurovision.

To show that this is a formal honour, Eurovision will broadcast live the Sarajevo Christmas Concert to be covered by Bosnia and Herzegovina Television.

And there's more: Bosnian music is to be neard at the 1993 Eurovision Song Contenst! If you too think that we have already won in spirit, we are in agreement!



22. decembar 1992.

Za ovih devet mjeseci Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine je dokazala da je zaista televizija Bosne i Hercegovine. Dokazali smo to i svijetu.

Da je tako govori i informacija da je Televizija BiH postala članica Evrovizije.

Da to nije samo protokolarna čast govori informacija da će Evrovizija direktno prenositi Božićni koncert iz Sarajeva koji će realizovati Televizija BiH.

Još nešto: bosanske note čuće se i na Pjesmi Evrovizije 93!

Ako i vi mislite da smo već sada duhovni pobjednici, onda se slažemo!



THE PARTY OF THE P

1 January 1993

NEWS TVBIH

People in Sarajevo have welcomed in the New Year as best they could in their financial circumstances. which depend on how much they have earned during the war or had saved before it broke out, The main thing is that we've somehow managed to see off this bitch of a year /1992/. As for our New Year resolutions, the most important are to save our skins and to start learning English.

11 January 1993

NEWS TVBIH

There's not a single Sarajevan who isn't asking himself wny he's still in Sarajevo, given the circumstances.

Is it patriotism, or love for their city?

Whatever it may be, this is how Sarajevans would explain it, because these things are simply taken for granted.

Staying in Sarajevo is more than honourable, and above all it's a very brave decision, so brave that Sarajevans can laugh about in their inimitable way.

We are resilient and stubborn, and they broke the mould after we were made.

Dragan Martinović, painter, economist, poet, waiter, musician:

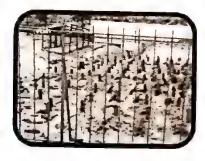
Why would I turn myself into a jerk, when there's enough jerks around already? I'm packing my bags and slipping off to a country where there's no winter. I was born here, allegedly, and my heart-strings keep me here. Patriotism - idiotism, while others have the sense to run. I see myself as an old clown, instead of laughter, silence, quiet. To myself I look like any old iron, tin cans, instead of a brain.

Anything's better - when nothing's any good! Anything's better - except the refugee life!

Anything's better - when nothing's any good! Anything's better - except the refugee life!









O1. januar 1993.

Sarajlije su Novu godinu dočekale u skladu sa svojim materijalnim mogućnostima, to jest, koliko je zaradio u ovom ratu ili uštedio prije rata.

Važno je samo da smo ovu kurvu od /92/ godine nekako ispratili.

Najvažnije je da na početku nove godine sačuvate glavu i da počnete da učite engleski.

11. januar 1993.

Nema tog Sarajlije koji nije preispitao sebe zašto ostaje u Sarajevu u ovakvim okolnostima. Da li je to patriotizam, ljubav prema gradu?

To su, ipak, zadnji argumenti na koje bi se Sarajlije pozivale jer se te stvari jednostavno podrazumijevaju.

Ostati u Sarajevu je nešto više i od časti, ali nadasve vrlo hrabra odluka, toliko hrabra da joj se možete, na sarajevski način, i nasmijati.

Mi smo tvrdoglavi, uporni i neponovljivi.

Dragan Martinović, slikar, ekonomist, pjesnik, konobar, muzičar, restaurator:

Zašto od sebe da pravim kretena kada ih već dovoljno ima? Pakujem kofere, lagano idem u zemlju u kojoj ne stanuje zima. Ja sam ovdje navodno rođen pa me to sad strašno veže. Patriotizam – idiotizam, a drugi sasvim normalno bježe. Sebe vidim ko starog klovna, umjesto osmijeha, tišina, muk. Sam sebi ličim na staro gvožđe, umjesto mozga – konzerve su.

Sve je bolje - kad ne valja ništa! Sve je bolje - osim izbjeglištva!

Sve je bolje - kad ne valja ništa! Sve je bolje - osim izbjeglištva!









21 January 1993

NEWS TVBIH

An ordinary day of war in Sarajevo.

We even filmed something interesting today:

In the heart of Sarajevo, a UN APC went off the Latin Bridge into the Miljacka.

It's just another proof that the 'blue helmets' can't even dr've, let alone keep the peace.

21 January 1993

NEWS TVBIH

I am convinced that our boys who are fighting for the Liberty and Honour of Bosnia and Herzegovina will also fight for a more just, more normal society in which there'll be no place for

thieves hiding under the veil of the Muslim nation

no place for criminals who call themselves Serbs

no place for the traitors who back the Croatian nation.

26 January 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Following heavy fighting in the Zadar area, passions are cooling, and various ideas and calculations are surfacing, even including the idea that this was nothing but a pre-arranged trade-off entailing a great many casualties. But who still cares about the number of dead, anyway.

There was so much weaponry around Zadar that the troops simply turned Maslenica into sirnica4.

26 January 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Indian subcontinent, made of thin layers of wholemeal pastry enriched with melted butter and clotted cream. S'rnica is made of paper-th'n filo pastry with a soft cheese filling. Trans.

4) Maslenica, the scene of the fighting, is also the name of a traditional Bosnian dish not unlike the paratha of the northern

A wedding in Dobrinja.

It's a mixed marriage.

If we were to go into the family tree of the bride and groom, you'd see that their marriage is mixed, that their parents' marriages were mixed, and so on all the way back through the mixed history of these peoples.

Mukadesa Mašić, registrar: There have been thirty-four marriages in Dobrinja. Thirty percent are mixed.









21. januar 1993.

Uobičajen ratni dan u Sarajevu.

Danas bilježimo čak i jednu zanimljivost.

Usred Sarajeva, sa Latinske čuprije, u Miljacku je odletio jedan transporter Ujedinjenih naroda.

Dokaz više da "plavci" ne znaju ni da voze, a kamoli da nas čuvaju.

21. januar 1993.

Vjerujem da će se momci koji se bore za slobodu i čast Bosne i Hercegovine izboriti za jedno pravednije i normalnije društvo u kojem neće biti mjesta za lopove koji se kriju iza muslimanske nacije, da neće biti mjesta za zločince koji sebe nazivaju Srbima, niti će biti mjesta za izdajice koje stoje iza hrvatske nacije.

26. januar 1993.
DNEVNIK TVBIH

Nakon velikih borbi oko Zadra strasti se smiruju, na površinu izlaze razne kombinacije i kalkulacije čak o tome da se jednostavno radi o dogovorenoj trgovini koridorima uz velike ljudske žrtve. Ali, ko još mari za broj poginulih.

Na prostorima oko Zadra bila je takva koncentracija oružja da su vojnici od Maslenice jednostavno napravili simicu.

26. januar 1993.

Vjenčanje na Dobrinji.

Brak je mješovit.

Ako bismo vam nabrajali rodoslov mladoženje i mlade, vidjeli biste da su oni u miješanom braku, da su oni iz miješanog braka svojih roditelja i tako sve dalje do mješovite istorije ovih naroda.

Mukadesa Mašić, matičar: Na Dobrinji su sklopljena 34 braka. Trideset posto su mješoviti.









31 January 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The fighting between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council /HVO/ is easing.

The politicians have finally understood what the Muslim and Croatian people have known for centuries.

31 January 1993

NEWS TVBIH

For the second time during this war, our colleague Mladen Paunović has been wounded. The first time a chetnik sniper got him, and this time it was a shell.

Our crew filmed our colleague in Koševo hospital – on the operating table. All of us here, whatever our ages, affectionately refer to Paunović as Grandpa Paun.

If anyone in this city is a symbol of suffering, among journalists it's Mladen Paunović, while among buildings it's the Bosnia and Herzegovina Radio-Te evision Centre.

We wish him a rapid recovery so he can come back here to play chess or rummy, and write his features.

5 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE in the studio, **Prof. Dr. Nijaz Duraković**, **President of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Hadžifejzović: Our guest today on the News is Nijaz Duraković, President of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It's a good while since you've been on television. You have been in Sarajevo all this time, working. . .

We're interested to know your views on what agreements might be reached during the negotiations in New York /which are going on right now/, as well as your opinion of the Geneva documents, particularly the constitutional structure that Vance and Owen have proposed for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Duraković: In my view they made a cardinal error in even convening the Geneva Conference, both in the way it was conducted and in the coercive agreements reached there. . . Naturally, every general has twenty-twenty hindsight following the battle, but the Bosnia and Herzegovina delegation could have made its case much more forcefully, and could even have pulled out of the talks when the maps and principles were set out that, to put it mildly, have the flavour of strict ethnic partition about them.









31. januar 1993.

Sukob Annije BiH i Hrvatskog vijeća obrane u srednjoj Bosni se smiruje. Političari su shvatili ono što hrvatski i muslimanski narod vijekovima znaju.

31. januar 1993.

Drugi put za vrijeme ovog rata naš kolega Mladen Paunović je ranjen.

Prvi put od četničkog snajpera, a sada od granate.

Naša ekipa zabilježila je snimke u koševskoj bolnici - na operacionom stolu - naš kolega. Kolegu Paunovića ovdje, svi od milja, bez obzira na godine, zovemo Deda Paun.

Ako je iko u ovom gradu simbol stradanja, onda je to od novinara Mladen Paunović, a od objekata radiotelevizijski dom BiH.

Želimo mu da što prije dođe ovdje na partiju šaha i remija i da napiše komentar.

05. februar 1993.

(UŽīVO) U studiju, **prof. dr. Nijaz Duraković, pre**dsjednik Socijaldemokratske partije Bosne i Hercegovine.

Hadžifejzović: Gost Dnevnika je Nijaz Duraković, predsjednik Socijaldemokratske partije Bosne i Hercegovine.

Odavno Vas nema na televiziji, tu ste svo vrijeme u Sarajevu, radite. Interesuje nas Vaša ocjena, šta se može odlučiti na pregovorima u New Yorku /koji su u toku/ i Vaša ocjena Ženevskih dokumenata, prvenstveno o ustavnom uređenju BiH koje su ponudili Vance i Owen.

Duraković: Ja mislim da su napravljeni kardinalni promašaji u samom sazivanju Ženevske konferencije, u njenom toku i u tim silnim nagodbama tamo... Naravno, poslije bitke svi su generali pametni, ali bosanskohercegovačka delegacija je mogla da nastupa mnogo rezolutnije, da se možda i povuče na vrijeme kada su ponuđene one karte i oni principi koji, najblaže rečeno, mirišu na striktnu etničku podjelu.









5 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The ideal time /to pull out/ would perhaps have been during the final round of negotiations. when another appalling onslaught against Bosnia and Herzegovina was beginning. Two corps from Serbia launched a ferocious assault on the Srebrenica area, Sarajevo came under heavy bombardment. Trebinje was ravaged and all its Muslims driven from their homes. . . This would have been a powerful reason and the proper time for the Bosnia and Herzegovina delegation to pull out, . .

...Bosnia and Herzegovina has had enough of fruitless documents and resolutions that nobody enforces... The aggressor has been rewarded by having ethnically cleansed many regions and is now. ostensibly, generously proposing to hand them back in exchange for concessions. . .

...However, the outcome of this is to equate victim and aggressor.

...The proposal is to set up a kind of triumvirate that would be mandated by the international community, ostensibly, to find a resolution, while the aggressor forces are ho ding the regions they occupied by force and ethnically cleansed. . . All the problems that are the outcome of this war are still in place, and there are no international guarantees eitner for the return /of refugees and displaced persons/, nor for the dismantling of the artillery. . .

This is why I'm afraid developments are not very favourable. . . there still remains the key role of the US administration. . . I hope America won't accept an ultimatum from Europe.

As someone once wrote, 'what a dirty war this was', and I'm even more afraid we're in for a 'dirty peace'.

Hadžifejzović: It's clear that the Geneva documents are an attempt to construct a socio-political system, to organize a country such as has never been seen before and that is certainly not a model structure for any country in the world.

Duraković: In March last year I told Lord Carrington that they were offering us something that doesn't exist anywhere else in the world, and that has never survived anywhere in the history of political systems.

I said cynically, only half joking, that the noble lord should suggest Great Britain adopt this solution to solve their problems with the Scots, the Welsh, and the Irish. . . If it seems to work there, we'll be happy to accept the same solution.

In fact it's nonsense, there's no such salmagundi from Tierra del Fuego to Japan. There's never been such a thing.

It's not a confederation, it's not a federation, it's not a federal state. In fact, it's not even a state.

They took great trouble to recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent, unitary, sovereign state, and now they're doing all they can to destroy it. What kind of a country is it where central government has no jurisdiction over defence, the tax system, the police, and so on?

This raises the question of who has a mandate, who has the right to put forward, on behalf of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, certain solutions that don't even make it a protectorate nor give it dominion status?









Možda je idealna prilika /za povlačenje/ bila u zadnjoj rundi pregovora kada je uslijedila nova, stravična agresija na Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Dva korpusa iz Srbije su žestoko udarila na područje Srebrenice, tada je stravično bombardovano Sarajevo, tada se ruši Trebinje i protjeruju trebinjski muslimani... Ovo je bio ozbiljan razlog i pravi povod da se bh delegacija povuče...

... Bosni i Hercegovini je dosta besplodnih papira i rezolucija koje niko ne provodi... agresor se nagrađuje time što je etnički očistio mnoga područja i sada ih, tobož, velikodušno nudi za ustup-ke...

...lpak, u krajnjoj konzekvenci, sve ovo je izjednačavanje žrtve i agresora.

...Prijedlog je da se uvede neka vrsta trijumvirata koji bi imao mandat međunarodne zajednice da, tobože, pronađe rješenja, a agresor se nalazi na područijima koja je nasilno okupirao, etnički očistio... Svi problemi koji su rezultat ovog rata ostaju, nema međunarodnih garancija ni za povratak, ni za uklanjane artiljerije...

Tako da se bojim da se stvar ne odvija povoljno...ostaje još ta ključna uloga američke administracije. Nadam se da Amerika neće prihvatiti ultimatum Evrope.

Kako je neko napisao "kako je ovo bio prljavi rat", bojim se još više da ovo ne bude "prljavi mir".

Hadžifejzović: Očigledno se ženevskim dokumentima pokušava napraviti jedan društveno-politički sistem, ustrojiti država kakva nije postojala u istoriji, niti je ima, niti je to model preporučljiv za ustrojstvo bilo koje države na svijetu.

Duraković: Ja sam u martu prošle godine rekao lordu Karingtonu da nam oni nude ono što nigdje u svijetu ne postoji i što u historiji političkih sistema nije nigdje nikada zaživjelo.

Ja sam se cinično, malo našalio, da bi bilo dobro da lord ta rješenja ponudi Velikoj Britaniji i da riješi pitanje Škota, Velšana, Iraca i tako dalje. Pa, ako se to tamo pokaže efikasnim, onda bismo mi to veoma rado prihvatili.

Naime, to je jedan nonsens, to je jedan model koji nije poznat od Ognjene zemlje do Japana. Tako nešto u historiji nikada nije bilo!

To nije ni konfederacija, ni federacija, to nije ni savezna država.

Faktički, to nije ni država.

Oni su se potrudili da priznaju Bosnu i Hercegovinu kao suverenu, nezavisnu, jedinstvenu državu a sada sve čine na planu njene destrukcije.

Jer kakva je to država ukoliko na nivou njene centralne vlasti nemate odbranu, poreski sistem, policiju i tako dalje?

Postavlja se pitanje: "Ko ima mandat, ko ima pravo da u ime naroda Bosne i Hercegovine, građana Bosne i Hercegovine, donosi neka rješenja koja nisu čak ni protektorat". Nije rješenje ni u vidu dominiona.









5 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

What it is, in fact, is a neo-colonial policy, with solutions imposed on us that will merely lead to the war escalating still further, with still more massacres...

Hadžifejzović: Mr Duraković, we wish the opposition would contribute still more to Bosnia and Herzegovina, whether by advising or criticizing the existing authorities, or by taking part in the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Duraković: Well, 't's difficult for the opposition to act constructively in such abnormal circumstances. We believe that this is no time for ideological squabbles and party differences.

In my view we need to form a real front line, literally, between those who are for Bosnia and Herzegovina and those who are against her.

We and the other opposition parties are wholeheartedly for the defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina!

5 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The order issued by the Commanding Officer of the First Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mustafa Hajrulahović-Talijan, to familiarize the troops with the Geneva Convention, that's to say the rules of war covering the treatment of civilians and prisoners of war, might seem a bit superfluous right now - after al., our soldiers are very kind-hearted even without the Geneva Conventions.

But orders are orders and must be carried out.

10 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

After an eventful journey back to Sarajevo, Colonel Stjepan Šiber has held a press conference. He has accused UNPROFOR of obstruction.

He said over and over again that he is a Colonel of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army, not of some kind of Mus im army.

He declared that the Army of Bosn'a and Herzegovina will not accept the partitioning of Bosnia and Herzegovina 'nto Serbian, Croatian and Muslim!

Colonel Šiber spoke so well and looked so resolute that it's high time he was promoted to - General!









05. februar 1993.

To je, zapravo, neokolonijalna politika i nametanje rješenja koja nas vode u još veću eskalaciju rata, u veće klanje...

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine Durakoviću, želimo da opozicija, što savjetima, što kritikom postojeće vlasti ili učešćem u Vladi Republike BiH, doprinese još više Bosni i Hercegovini.

Duraković: Pa, opozicija u ovako nenormalnim uslovima teško da može biti konstruktivna.

Mi mislimo da danas nije vrijeme ideoloških svađa i partijskih razlika.

Mislim da treba, doista, bukvalno uspostaviti front, prije svega onih koji su za Bosnu i Hercegovinu i onih koji su protiv nje.

Mi sa drugim opozicionim strankama zdušno smo za odbranu Bosne i Hercegovine!

05. februar 1993.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Naredba komandanta Prvog korpusa Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine Mustafe Hajrulahovića Talijana da se borci upoznaju sa Ženevskom konvencijom, to jest sa Ratnim pravilima ponašanja prema civilima i ratnim zarobljenicima, u ovom momentu je možda i suvišna - jer su naši borci merhametli i mimo "ženevskih konvencija".

No, naredba je naredba, i ona se provodi !!!

10. februar 1993.

Pukovnik Stjepan Šiber, nakon puno peripetija oko povratka u Sarajevo, održao je press konferenciju.

Optužio je UNPROFOR za opstrukciju.

Ponovio, ko zna koji put, da je on pukovnik Armije BiH, a ne neke muslimanske vojske. Izjavio da Armija BiH neće prihvatiti podjelu Bosne i Hercegovine na srpsku, hrvatsku i muslimansku!

Pukovnik Šiber je tako dobro govorio i odlično izgledao da je krajnje vrijeme da postane - general!









14 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: The man that everyone knows is one of the foremost candidates for the dock in the International War Crimes Tribunal has just appeared on Serb Television to give his views on the Tribunal:

Karadžić: If this Tribunal is set up, it will have a lot of cases dealing with war criminals from the Second World War who have yet to come to trial.

This war is a continuation of the Second World War.

There is no statute of limitations for war crimes.

Then, too, as far as this war goes, we have indisputable evidence that it was the Muslims who started it.

The Tribunal will also have to try war criminals from the Vietnam war, from the Korean war and from the Cambodian war!

This Tribunal is about salving the conscience of mankind!

The possibility of the Tribunal trying Genscher and Mock should also be considered.

Obviously, we would welcome such a decision.

If there have been any irresponsible individuals on our side, they will also have to face trial, but in our Courts, where people who don't expect to face trial at all will also have to answer for their actions.

18 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

There is no doubt that the formation of an International Tribunal is a fait accompli.

The next stage is to decide where it should sit. And to set up the gallows.

26 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

/ Peace talks begin tomorrow in New York /

This time the surprise comes from the Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mile Akmadžić, who suddenly recalled, on the very eve of his visit to the White House, that Alija Izetbegović's mandate expired in December and that he himself, as the 'legitimate President of the exiled government' /!/, was disputing Izetbegović's right to represent Bosnia and Herzegovina!

In this political lunacy, we have just one wish: that nobody should have the right to do to us what lunatics and crackpots do.









14. februar 1993.

Hadžifejzović: Čovjek za kojeg svi znaju da je jedan od glavnih kandidata za optuženičku klupu na međunarodnom sudu za ratne zločine upravo je na srpskoj televiziji odgovorio:

Karadžić: Taj sud, ako se ustanovi, imaće puno posla sa ratnim zločinima iz Drugog svjetskog rata koji su ostali nekažnjeni.

Ovaj rat je nastavak Drugog svjetskog rata.

Ratni zločini ne zastarijevaju.

Zatim, iz ovog rata, imamo neoborive dokaze da je to započela muslimanska strana.

Zatim ćemo na taj sud da stavimo i ratne zločince iz vijetnamskog rata, iz korejskog rata iz kambodžanskog rata!

Taj sud će nam omogućiti da čovječanstvo očisti svoju savjest!

Treba razmotriti mogućnost da se na sud stave Genšer i Mok.

Naravno, mi pozdravljamo takvu odluku.

Ako je na našoj strani bilo neodgovornih pojedinaca, oni će morati takođe da odgovaraju - našem sudu, ali će morati da odgovaraju i oni koji uopšte to ne očekuju.

18. februar 1993.

Nema nikakve dileme da je osnivanje međunarodnog suda za ratne zločine već gotova stvar.

Naredna etapa je određivanje mjesta za suđenje. 1 izgradnja vješala.

26. februar 1993.

/ U New Yorku sutra počinju mirovni pregovori. /

Iznenađenje ovoga puta dolazi od predsjednika Vlade Bosne i Hercegovine Mileta Akmadžića, koji se naprasno sjetio, uoči posjete predsjednika Predsjedništva Bijeloj kući, da je Aliji Izetbegoviću istekao mandat u decembru i da mu on kao "legitimni predsjednik Vlade u izbjeglištvu" osporava mandat da predstavlja Bosnu i Hercegovinu!

U ovom političkom ludilu imamo samo jednu želju: da niko nema pravo činiti nam "radnju" koja se inače "radi" između ludog i zbunjenog!









26 February 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Of all our neighbours, the people of Belgrade are having the hardest time. The average salary is about thirty marks /a month/.

there's economic and political chaos

the young, the intelligent and the rational are leaving for abroad.

If it goes on like that, we'll have to send them humanitarian aid parcels.

2 March 1993

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE General Jasmin Jaganjac, adviser to the President of the Presidency

Hadžifejzović: In our Zenica studio we have Jasmin Jaganjac, military adviser to the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr Jaganjac, I should like to ask you, as someone who is out there in the field, what's the background to the fighting between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council /HVO/?

It's hard to believe that this is a conflict between nations /an ethnic conflict/, and I'd say the same, actually, about everything else that's going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Jaganjac: This conflict is the outcome of the love between the Muslim and the Croatian peoples that has lasted for such a long time. A long-time love like this should have ended in marriage, that is with a political agreement that there should be a unified government.

But they've been 'dating' for too long, and this made both parties jealous, suspicious of infidelity, and then the sparks begin to fly... It could spread, but it doesn't have to...

3 April 1993

NEWS TVBIH

It's a long time since Tito had a mention on television.

But in many Bosnian homes, God and Tito have been referred to more than any others all these months.

There was a time when people called Tito 'Comrade Tito', but after all this they now call him 'Mr Tito'.









26. februar 1993.
DNEVNIK TVBIH

Od svih naših susjeda Beograđanima je najteže. Tamo je plata oko trideset maraka, ekonomsko i političko rasulo, odlaze mladi, pametni i normalni u svijet.

Ako ovako nastave, uskoro ćemo morati mi njima da šaljemo pakete humanitame pomoći.

02. mart 1993.

(UŽIVO) general Jasmin Jaganjac, savjetnik predsjednika Predsjedništva

Hadžifejzović: Na direktnoj link-vezi u zeničkom studiju je Jasmin Jaganjac, savjetnik predsjednika Predsjedništva BiH za vojna pitanja.

Gospodine Jaganjac, zamolio bih Vas da kao čovjek koji je na terenu odgovorite kakva je pozadina sukoba između Armije BiH i Hrvatskog vijeća obrane?

Teško je povjerovati da je to sukob između naroda, kao uostalom sve ovo što se dešava u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Jaganjac: Sukob je posljedica duge ljubavi koja traje između muslimanskog i hrvatskog naroda. Ta ljubav duga trebala je da završi jednim brakom, to jest političkim dogovorom i da postoji jedinstvena vlast.

Kako to "ćosanje" traje dugo, pojavljuje se ljubomora i kod jednih i kod drugih, ko je nevjeran i onda dolazi do varnica...To može da se proširi, a i ne mora da se proširi...

03. april 1993.

Odavno na televiziji nismo spomenuli Tita. Ali u mnogim bosanskim kućama Bog i Tito su ovih mjeseci pominjani najčešće. Ljudi su nekada za Tita govorili "drug Tito", a nakon ovih iskustava "gospodin Tito".









18 April 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Today is an important Orthodox religious festival - Easter.

We wish all believers whose reputation and honour remain unsullied in the eyes of God and man a very happy Easter.

Christ is risen!

28 April 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The first war issue of Libero magazine has just come out in Sarajevo. We can't resist sharing with you some of the entries from the 'Lexicon of less familiar words and expressions'

Grude - Latin name for Pale5

Kosovo - oasis of peace in the Balkans

Corfu - Serbian access to the sea

Ostrvo⁶ - part of Serbia surrounded by water

Otok⁷ - part of Croatia surrounded by Yugoslav Navy

SAO8 - abbreviation for about one third of 'Republic of Croatia'

- 5) Grude a small town in Herzegovina, heartland of the Croatian nationalists. Pale - a small mountain resort near Sarajevo, where Karad0'c and his followers took up residence, declaring it the capita of the 'Serb Republic'.
- 6) Meaning is and', in the eastern or Serbian variant of the common Bosno-Croato-Serblan language.
- 7) Meaning 'island', in the western or Croatian variant of the common Bosno-Croato-Serbian language.
- 8) Serb Autonomous Regions, areas covering about a third of the republic of Croatia and parts of Bosnia with a Serb majority population, unilaterally declared to be Serb and autonomous by Serbian nationalists 'n 1991.

3 May 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The Olympic Committee of Bosnia and Herzegovina today unveiled the sportswear to be worn by our athletes at the Mediterranean games.

We don't have Coco Chanel.

We have Koko Šaner9.

9) Villain, thief









18. april 1993.

Danas je veliki pravoslavni praznik – Vaskrs. Svim vjernicima koji pred Bogom i narodom nisu u ovom ratu ukaljali svoj obraz i čast srpskog naroda čestitamo praznik. Hristos voskrese!

28. april 1993.

U Sarajevu je izašao prvi, ratni broj lista "Libero". Ne možemo odoljeti a da vam ne pročitamo nekoliko termina iz "Leksikona manje poznatih riječi i izraza".

Grude - latinski naziv za Pale

Kosovo - oaza mira na Balkanu

Krf - srpski izlaz na more

Ostrvo – deo Srbije sa svih strana okružen morem

Otok - dio Hrvatske sa svih strana okružen Jugoslovenskom ratnom mornaricom

SAO - skraćenica od "Republika Hrvatska", otprilike za trećinu

O3. maj 1993.

Danas je Olimpijski komitet Bosne i Hercegovine predstavio garderobu koju će naši sportisti nositi na Mediteranskim igrama.

Nemamo Coco Chanel - Koko Šanel.

Imamo Koko Šaner.









13 May 1993

NEWS TVBIH

We've just enjoyed four fairly peaceful days to remind us of better days in Sarajevo.

The fine weather, the pretty women in mini skirts and black fashion tights, the clean, newlypressed uniforms of the young men, the crowds - these are none other than our kind of resistance to primitivism and barbarism.

Sarajevo cannot fall. Either 'physically' or 'psychologically'.

13 May 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Envera Selimović, reporter and editor: Vitaly Churkin, the Russian mediator at the /peace/ negotiations, has been in Sarajevo today.

Here's an anecdote from today's meeting with journalists: whether this is the Russian sense of humour, or a message, maybe, who knows. While talking informally to the photographers, Mr Churkin asked: 'Do you have film in your cameras?' and on being told they had, asked with a cynical smile: 'Why is it, then, that you claim you have no ammunition?"

Hadžifejzović: Tovarich Churkin can't even begin to imagine what Bosnians can concoct to use as weapons.

13 May 1993

NEWS TVBIH

How many years will it take to wash away the blood? Who will forget all this? Will anyone ever apologise?

23 May 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Instead of our usual sign-off, here's a note about this polluted environment of ours called Europe. Dedication: 'To the old bitch, instead of a curse'.

Iza nas su četiri, uglavnom, mirna dana koja nas podsjećaju na najbolje dane Sarajeva.

Lijepo vrijeme, lijepe žene, minjaci, erne čarape sa "detaljima", čiste i opeglane uniforme mladića, okupljanje raje – nisu ništa drugo do otpor primitivizmu i varvarstvu.

Sarajevo ne može pasti. Ni "fizićki",ni "psihićki".

13. maj 1993.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Envera Selimović, reporter, urednik: Danas je u Sarajevu boravio Vitalij Čurkin, ruski posrednik u pregovorima.

"Anegdota" sa današnjeg susreta sa novinarima: da li je u pitanju neki neobični ruski humor ili možda neka poruka, tek obraćajući se neformalno prisutnim fotografima gospodin Čurkin je upitao: "Imate li filma u aparatu?" i nakon potvrdnog odgovora, uz ciničan smiješak, konstatovao: "Pa, zašto, onda, kažete da nemate municije!?"

Hadžifejzović: Tovariš Čurkin i ne pretpostavlja iz čega sve Bosanci mogu da opale.

13. maj 1993.

Koliko će godina trebati za spiranje krvi? Ko će ovo zaboraviti? Hoće li se neko izviniti?

23. maj 1993.

Umjesto uobičajene odjave emitujemo zapis o našoj zagađenoj okolini koja se zove Evropa. Sa posvetom: "Staroj rospiji, umjesto psovke".





28 May 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Goražde is again coming under attack.

However, the defence force of this free territory has been following the golden, rigid rule of a Željo football club player from his best days:

'The ball can get through, but not the players'!

2 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The first day of June this year irresistibly reminds us of 9 March 1991, when for the first time in his campaign against Yugoslavia Milošević aimed his tanks at the Serbian people.

Yesterday, he once again showed his teeth - Cosić is out.

Both 'Reprobate' and 'Turncoat' have left the political scene at a time of a bitter political 'Carve-up' in Serbia.

Ćosić nas been got rid of by the political sons of bitches who initially proclaimed him to be the spiritual father of their crimes.

Cosić is a lucky man, for all that. He escaped the traditional method of exterminating one's political opponents in the 'Belgrade pashaluk' 10, that is with the godfatner's sword on his neck!

It's unfair to expect these unarmed young people, who remind us nostalgically of the Old Serbia of the good old days, to hold out against tanks – but this conflict can be described as civilization taking a stand against primitivism, or simply as the battle of the Serbs against the chetniks!

The street fighting in Belgrade began with a fight in Parliament: a radical hit a democrat. Mihajlo Marković, who got the beating, will probably be opposition candidate for the next president. He wouldn't be the first president to get a beating, though...

10) pashaluk - administrative area in the Ottoman period, governed by a pasha

2 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Data from the Republic headquarters for health and social security showing the numbers of casualties so far in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

138,603 killed, dead from starvation and missing. of whom 15,807 are children.







Obnovljeni su napadi na Goražde. No, odbrana ove slobodne teritorije postupila je po zlatnom, oštrom pravilu fudbalera "Želje" iz najboljih dana: "Lopta može proći, ali igrači ne!"

2. juni 1993.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Prvi juni ove godine neodoljivo podsjeća na deveti mart 1991. godine kada je Milošević u pohodu na Jugoslaviju tenkove prvo uperio u - srpski narod! Juče je još jednom pokazao zube - otišao je Ćosić.

Sa političke scene otišao je i "Grešnik" i "Otpadnik" u momentu žestokih političkih "Deoba" u Srbiji.

Ćosića su odstranila politička kopilad koja su ga prvo proglasila duhovnim ocem svojih zločina.

No, Ćosić je i sretan čovjek. Izbjegao je tradicionalni metod uklanjanja političkih protivnika u "Beogradskom pašaluku", a to je kumovom sjekirom po vratu!

Teško je očekivati da će goloruki, mladi svijet, koji nas nostalgično podsjeća na staru Srbiju iz boljih vremena, nešto postići u borbi protiv tenkova, ali ovaj sukob možemo okarakterisati kao opiranje civilizacije primitivizmu ili jednostavno – borba Srba protiv četnika!

Sukob na ulicama Beograda počeo je tučnjavom u Parlamentu: radikal je udario demokratu. Mihajlo Marković koji je dobio batine vjerovatno će biti kandidat opozicije za novog predsjednika.

No, neće to biti prvi "udareni" predsjednik...

2. juni 1993.

Prema informacijama Republičkog štaba za zdravstvo i socijalnu bezbjednost građana, u Bosni i Hercegovini je do sada evidentirano:

138.603 poginulih, umrlih od gladi i nestalih, od tog "broja" 15.807 djece.









2 June 1993 NEWS TVBIH

8,789 recorded deaths in Sarajevo.

of whom 1,374 are children.

It is estimated that these figures represent only 65% of the total number of dead and missing since the outbreak of the aggression...

6 June 1993

NEWS TVBiH

In a poll conducted by Alfa agency and published in the magazine Dani, 426 citizens of Sarajevo responded to the following questions:

First question: How long will the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina last?

35% - don't know

26% - until next winter

16% - from one to three years

13% - more than three years

How long will the war in Sarajevo last?

31% - don't know

28% - more than three years

The politician in whom the people of Sarajevo have the most confidence: Dr.Haris Silajdžić

Which member of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina do you respect the most? Stjepan Šiber

How will the war end?

31% - with the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan

29% - with the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina

64% believe there will be no military intervention 59% believe that the fighting between the HVO and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina will not stop.









U Sarajevu je evidentirano 8.789 poginulih,

od kojih je 1.374 djece.

Pretpostavlja se da ovi podaci predstavljaju samo 65% od ukupnog broja nastradalih i nestalih od početka agresije...

6. juni 1993.

U anketi agencije za ispitivanje javnog mnjenja "Alfa" i magazina "Dani" 426 građana Sarajeva odgovaralo je na pitanja.

Prvo pitanje: Koliko će trajati rat u Bosni i Hercegovini?

35% - ne zna

26% - do naredne zime

16% - trajace od jedne do tri godine

13% - smatra preko tri godine

Koliko će trajati rat u Sarajevu?

31% - ne zna

28% - smatra da će trajati preko tri godine

Političar kojem Sarajlije najviše vjeruju? Dr. Haris Silajdžić

Pripadnik Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine kojeg najviše cijenite? Stjepan Šiber

Kako će se završiti rat? 31% - primjenom Vens-Ovenovog plana 29% - podjelom Bosne i Hercegovine

Da neće biti vojne intervencije smatra 64% 59% smatra da neće prestati sukobi HVO-a i Armije RBiH.







6 June 1993 NEWS TVBIH

How do you evaluate Sefer Halilović? 46% of those polled: positively 40% negatively

64% of the people of Sarajevo think that Alija Izetbegović should not negot ate directly with Radovan Karadžić 18% that he should

18% that he should - occasionally

As many as 47% will not vote for any party at the next elections, whenever they may be.

8 June 1993 NEWS TVBIH

INTERVIEW with the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, on the occasion of the appointment of a new Chief of General Staff of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a new Minister of the Interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Hadžifejzović: Mr Izetbegović, we are looking to you to explain why there have been these senior personnel changes in the Army and the Ministry of the Interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Izetbegović: There were three main reasons that led the Presidency to make these changes. The fundamental reason was a problem in the relationship between the two components of the armed forces, the Ministry of the Interior and the Army. There was insufficient co-laboration and coordination of action between them. The problem lay in the personalities of the people heading the Ministry and the Army. We were under the impression that the two of them were completely unable to find any common ground. This was then reflected in the institutions as a whole, in the antagonism between the Army and the Ministry. And yet, both of them are true patriots and professionals. In the end, we decided to move both of them sideways...

The second reason has to do with the Army. There have been obvious failings that have resulted in major osses. They have never conducted any investigation into the responsibility for these, to determine who was responsible. There was the well-known case of the Igman operation, where we had seventy casualties. . . It turned out that nobody was to blame for this. But it's not possible for no one to be responsible for lives being lost!

The third reason, finally, is that there needs to be a turnover of personnel. It can only be a good thing to bring in new blood, new personnel, into such institutions.

64% SARAJUJA SMATRA DA NECE BITI VOUNE INTERVENCIAE SOK SARAJLIJA SMATRA DA NEĆE PRESTATI SUKOBI IJE BIH I HVO

RAD SEFERA HALILOVICA? 46 % OCJENJUJE POZITIVNO 40% NEGATIVNO 14% SE NIJE IZJASNILO

SARAJELIA MISE ALIJA IZETBEGO OVARATI SA KARADZICEM 16% MISLI DA TREBA IBK THEBA PONEKAD REGOVARATI ME EI GLASALO ZA JEDNU STRANKU

31% ANKETIRANH SMATRA DA CE SE RAT ZAVRŠITI PRIMJENOM VENS-OVENOVOG PLAN, A 29% PODJELOM

Kako ocjenjujete rad Sefera Halilovića? 46% anketiranih ocjenjuje rad pozitivnim 40% negativnim

64% Sarajlija misli da Alija Izetbegović ne treba direktno pregovarati sa Radovanom Karadžićem 18% da treba 18% da treba – ponekad

Čak 47% na narednim, eventualnim izborima neće glasati ni za jednu stranku.

8. juni 1993.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Intervju sa predsjednikom Predsjedništva BiH Alijom Izetbegovićem povodom smjene načelnika Glavnog štaba Armije BiH i ministra unutarnjih poslova BiH. (Sefer Halilović, Jusuf Pušina)

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine Izetbegoviću, od Vas očekujemo objašnjenje za kadrovske promjene u vrhu Armije BiH i MUP-a BiH.

Izetbegović: Postoje tri osnovna razloga koja su motivisala Predsjedništvo da donese ove odluke. Osnovni motiv je što smo imali jedan problem u odnosima dvije komponente oružanih snaga, MUP-a i Armije. Nije postojala potrebna, dovoljna saradnja, nužna koordinacija aktivnosti. Problem je bio u ličnostima koje su vodile MUP i Armiju. Imali smo utisak da se njih dvojica ne mogu ama baš ni u čemu sporazumjeti. To se kasnije odražavalo na ponašanje kompletnih institucija, stvarao se antagonizam između Armije i MUP-a. Ipak, obojica su velike patriote i profesionalci. Konačno, odlučili smo da obojicu pomaknemo malo...

Drugi razlog tiče se Armije. Bilo je očitih promašaja u kojima je bilo velikih gubitaka. Nikada nisu ispitane odgovornosti niti utvrđeno ko je odgovoran za to. Imali smo slučaj poznate Igmanske operacije gdje smo izgubili 70 ljudi. Ispalo je da niko nije kriv. Ne može za gubitke života nikad niko ne biti kriv!

Treći razlog, konačno, treba da se mijenjaju ljudi. Osvježavanje institucija no vim kadrovima, novim ljudima bi moglo biti samo dobro.



8 June 1993 NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Is it your view that this game of musical chairs with senior personnel has been carried out at a particularly complex time, politically and militarily?

Izetbegović: Yes. Things are very difficult now, but it's at such times that change is needed. We simply couldn't defer it any further.

Hadžifejzović: As for Co onel Rasim Delić, the newly appointed Commanding Officer of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, all we can say is that he is a completely unknown figure!

Izetbegović: It's not necessarily a bad thing for him to be unknown, it could also be an advantage. Perhaps he doesn't like to be photographed, you known. But he is our most highly trained officer. We have three officers who have gone through Mi itary College, operational training: Rasim Delić, Jovo Divjak, and Stjepan Šiber.

Hadžifejzović: To end this discussion, let's go back to the beginning. Do you think that in these circumstances, responsibility is a matter only for people from the Police and the Army?

From what I can see, in the current climate, politicians are effectively evading their responsibilities, and are thus exempt from sanctions! This is an issue primarily for the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Izetbegović: The reason for this is that politicians can judge others, while it's the people that must judge them. But as it is now, the people's voice can't be heard. To be honest, I wish that things were different, that people could be invited to rallies or that we could hold a referendum to see how much confidence they have in individual politicians.

In my view, politicians are competent to evaluate soldiers. . . It wouldn't be a good thing for soldiers to pass judgment on politicians.

Politicians are untouchable, in a sense, at present, because the people who should be passing judgment on them have no way to make their voice heard. But once we are out of this situation, everyone will be evaluated in one way or another, in the near or the distant future.

13 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Instead of solving the burning problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the European Union persists in addressing the future structure of a state that is under attack from fascists and where total chaos reigns as a result.

So today, the entire Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina met in Generva, for the first time in a year, to discuss something that sounds utterly incredible: how to govern Bosnia and Herzegovina until the next elections.

As far as we are concerned, we are sick to death of 'free', 'democratic', 'multi-party' elections!

Here is the weather forecast. The weather tomorrow will be the same as today: rain and shells.

Hadžifejzović: Da li smatrate da je ova kadrovska rokada izvršena u jednom vrlo složenom vojnopolitičkom momentu?

Izetbegović: Da. Trenutak je vrlo težak, ali to su momenti kada se promjene moraju da učine. To se, jednostavno, nije moglo odlagati više.

Hadžifejzović: Za gospodina Rasima Delića, pukovnika, novopostavljenog komandanta Štaba Armije BiH, možemo reći da je apsolutno nepoznat!

Izetbegović: To što je nepoznat, možda to nije mana, to može da bude njegova vrlina. Možda čovjek ne voli da se slika, znate. Ali, to je naš najobrazovaniji oficir.

Mi imamo tri oficira koji imaju tzv. ratnu školu, školu operative: Rasim Delić, Jovo Divjak i Stjepan Šiber.

Hadžifejzović: Za kraj ovog razgovora da se vratimo početku ovog razgovora.

Mislite li da se odgovomost u ovakvim okolnostima odnosi samo na ljude iz policije i Armije? Koliko vidim, u ovom momentu, političari su praktično sklonjeni od odgovornosti, od sankcija! Ovo pitanje se odnosi prvenstveno na Predsjedništvo BiH!

Izetbegović: Razlog tome je što političari mogu da sude drugima, a njima treba da sudi narod. A sad narod ne može da dode do riječi. Iskreno govoreći volio bih da to nije takav slučaj, da se narod može povremeno pozvati ili na miting ili na referendum da se vidi koliko se ima povjerenja u pojedine političare.

Mislim da političari mogu da sude o vojnicima. Ne bi bilo dobro da vojnici počnu da sude o političarima.

Političari su sada, na neki način, neprikosnoveni, jer onaj faktor koji treba da sudi o njihovom radu momentalno ne može da dođe do riječi.

Ali, kad izađemo iz ove situacije, svako će na neki način biti procjenjivan u bližoj ili daljoj budućnosti.

13. juni 1993.

Umjesto da rješava goruće probleme u Bosni i Hercegovini, Evropska zajednica se uporno bavi budućim ustrojstvom države koja se pod udarima fašista nalazi u potpunom haosu.

Tako se danas kompletno Predsjedništvo Republike Bosne i Hercegovine prvi put nakon godinu dana sastalo u Ženevi, gdje se dogovara o nečemu što zvuči gotovo nevjerovatno: kako vladati Bosnom i Hercegovinom do novih izbora?!

Što se nas tiče, nama je "slobodnih", "demokratskih", "višepartijskih" izbora preko glave!

Što se vremena tiče, i sutra će biti kao i danas: padaće i kiša i granate...

17 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

As you will have observed, the whole Presidency of the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina is absent from Sarajevo.

You may also have noticed that their absence makes no difference.

Things are neither worse nor better without them.

21 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Copenhagen is the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina today.

Right up until 6 p.m. news was coming through that the positions of the 'twe ve' /members of the European Union/ on the ethnic partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina were 'drawing closer'.

At 6 p.m. Sky News reported that there had been a sudden shift, and that the principal issue was now the 'lifting of the arms embargo' on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

So we still don't know whether to partition or to carry on firing.

25 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The composer Perica Simonović, a native of Belgrade and combatant in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is the studio guest, LIVE

Hadžifejzović: Our guest in the studio is Perica Simonović from Belgrade, composer and combatant in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I see that you're in full war gear. Have you come straight from the front line?

Simonović: Well, I wouldn't say from the frontline, but from home. I'm in the commando platoon, so I'm on the frontline when needed. My platoon is in Velešići. . . Well, when I sa'd Velešići, I'm not giving away anything confidential, because even the chetniks know where our front line is. I have nothing special to say, except to praise the way my comrades are fighting, and myself too, naturally!

Hadžifejzović: I've been trying to avoid the question everyone asks you. . . which is. . . you're from Belgrade, from Dorcol, you're a composer and you're also in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. . .









17. juni 1993.

Kao što ste primijetili u Sarajevu nije kompletno Predsjedništvo Republike BiH. Vjerovatno ste primijetili da se njihovo odsustvo i ne osjeća.

Bez njih nit' je gore, nit' je bolje.

21. juni 1993.

Glavni grad Bosne i Hercegovine danas je Kopenhagen. Sve do 18 sati iz Kopenhagena stizale su informacije da se stavovi "dvanaestorice" /Evropske zajednice/ o podjeli BiH na etničkom principu "približavaju".

U 18 sati "Sky news" je objavio da je došlo do nagle promjene i da je sada glavna tema "ukidanje embarga na uvoz oružja" bosanskohercegovačkoj Vladi!

Tako, da sada ne znamo hoćemo li se dijeliti ili nastaviti sa pucnjavom?

25. juni 1993.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

(UŽIVO) gost u studiju Perica Simonović, kompozitor, Beograđanin, borac ARBiH

Hadžifejzović: Gost u našem studiju je Perica Simonović, Beograđanin, kompozitor i borac Armije Republike BiH.

Vidim u punoj si ratnoj spremi. Pravo sa prve linije?

Simonović: Pa, ne bih rekao sa prve linije, od kuće sam. U diverzantskom sam vodu, po potrebi sam na liniji. Moj vod je u Velešićima... Ama, kad sam već rekao Velešići, nije tajna, znaju i četnici gde nam je prva linija. Nemam nešto specijalno da kažem, osim da pohvalim borbu svojih drugara i naravno svoju!

Hadžifejzović: Pokušavam sve vrijeme da pobjegnem od pitanja koje ti svi postavljaju... a, to je... Beograđanin, sa Dorćola, kompozitor, a u Armiji BiH...







25 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Simonović: I am not the only Serb in Sarajevo, in Bosnia. There used to be a major, the hero of Travnik, but he's been killed. There are mil'tary officers and doctors from Serbia proper, and I've heard that in Goražde, too, there are some who originate from Serbia proper. I was a musician, I travelled, I made friends in Sarajevo, I fell in love, I was pretty successful in Bosnia, I earned money in Bosnia. Bosnia, and these people who accepted me, deserve that I should even give my life, if need be.

Hadžifejzović: Bosnians recall with nostargia many experiences in Serbia, and we wonder why the Serbia that we know has nothing to say about Bosnia.

Simonović: Over there in Serbia, every Serb who remains silent and who's honest and decent is in effect a prisoner. They have to keep quiet. They have any weapons with which to react. You know how powerful Milošević's police and propaganda are.

Hadžifejzović: Do you have any news of your family?

Simonović: I keep in touch by ham radio. And they're fine. I'm fine too.

Hadžifejzović: I am sure that you'd like to see your native Dorćol?

Simonović: Well, of course. And maybe I shall, God willing. . . I'd like, if possible, to use the satellite link to have a bit of a skirmish with the musicians of Belgrade, with my friends, I mean my old friends.

Hadžifejzović: They are still singing. . .

Simonović: Yes, yes, they're having a good time, they're full of meat and wine. But we won't give up. My greetings to all Muslims, Serbs and Croats, and my message for the ustasha and the chetniks is that we're going to win!

29 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

After many mishaps and the overt fear of some of the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina /Miro Lasić, Franjo Boras, Mile Akmadžić and Fikret Abdić/ of 'entering' Sarajevo, a meeting has been held in the Presidency building, and not at the airport or at UNPROFOR Headquarters, as was initially announced.

This fear on the part of some of the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be seen as fear of the 'reaction of the public'.









Simonović: Nisam ja jedini u Sarajevu, Bosni, Srbijanac. Bio je major, heroj u Travniku, koji je poginuo. Ima časnih vojnika i doktora Srbijanaca, čuo sam i u Goraždu koji su poreklo srbijansko. Ja sam se bavio muzikom, putovao, upoznao raju u Sarajevu, zavoleo, postigao dosta uspeha u Bosni, zaradio u Bosni. Bosna je zaslužila, i ovaj narod koji me prihvatio pa i život da dam ako treba.

Hadžifejzović: Bosanci se nostalgično sjećaju mnogih iskustava u Srbiji i pitamo se otkud to da ona Srbija koju znamo šuti zbog Bosne.

Simonović: Svi Srbi koji šute a pošteni su, svi na onoj strani, oni su zarobljeni, faktički. Oni moraju da šute. Nemaju naoružanja da se odupru. Vi znate koliko je jaka Miloševićeva policija i propaganda.

Hadžifejzović: Čujete li se sa svojima?

Simonović: Preko radioamatera. I dobro su. I ja sam dobro.

Hadžifejzović: Sigurno imaš želju da vidiš rodni Dorćol?

Simonović: Pa, naravno. Možda ga i vidim, akobogda. Želja mi je da se, ako može, satelitskom, prepucavamo sa muzičarima iz Beograda, sa svojom rajom, bivšom.

Hadžifejzović: Oni još uvijek pjevaju...

Simonović: Da, da, oni su veseli, puni mesa i vina. Ali i mi se ne damo.

Pozdravljam sve Muslimane, Srbe i Hrvate, a ustašama i četnicima poručujem da ćemo pobediti!

29. juni 1993.

Nakon mnogo peripetija i otvorenog straha pojedinih članova Predsjedništva BiH /Mire Lasića, Franje Borasa, Mileta Akmadžića i Fikreta Abdića/ da "uđu" u Sarajevo, u zgradi Predsjedništva je održana sjednica, a ne, kako je najavljeno, na Aerodromu ili u štabu UNPROFOR-a.

Strah pojedinih članova Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine ne može se tumačiti strahom "od reakcije naroda".









29 June 1993

NEWS TVBIH

These politicians are simply conscious of their own political moves.

Before the session began, those members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina who had been away from Sarajevo for months were shown a film about the impact of the war on the front lines in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to update them on the situation in the country they govern.

23 July 1993

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE Arijana Saračević - the finest war reporter in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Hadžifejzović: The Journalists' Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina has nominated Arijana Saračević and /cameraman/ Sulejman Mulaomerović as reporting team of the year.

Suljo is on assignment, reporting on the war, while Arijana, surprisingly, stayed in Sarajevo. How does it feel to be here in the studio?

Saračević: . . . Odd. . .

Hadžifejzović: War reporter? This ought to be a job for a man.

Saračević: I don't see it that way. During these sixteen months, the war has shown that women are a lot stronger. In hospitals, on the front line, in typical missions related to our job.

Hadžifejzović: You've been on the front line. You were on Žuč when the hill was taken. There was still smoke from the bombardment of the area. . .

What does a war reporter think about in such situations?

Saračević: I think that this award should also have gone to Hakija Hadžalić, Šefik Uzunović, and Dževad Čolaković (cameramen).

How does a reporter feel at the front?
I was always safer at the front than here in town.

Hadžifejzović: Honestly, how afraid were you?

Saračević: Maybe I'm a little afraid now. . . To start with there was no real fear.

Now, when I have the opportunity from time to time to talk to my parents, when they beg me to take settle down, take fewer risks. . . in such situations, one starts thinking about the possible consequences.









29. juni 1993.

Ti ljudi su, jednostavno, svjesni svojih političkih poteza.

Članovima Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine koji su iz Sarajeva odsustvovali mjesecima trebalo je prije početka sjednice, emitirati, pustiti filmski ratni bilten sa bosanskohercegovačkih frontova kako bi se upoznali sa stanjem u zemlji koju vode.

23. juli 1993.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

(UŽIVO) Arijana Saračević, najbolji ratni reporter u Bosni i Hercegovini

Hadžifejzović: Savez novinara Bosne i Hercegovine za reportersku ekipu godine izabrao je naše Arijanu Saračević i Sulejmana Mulaomerovića /snimatelj/.

Suljo je na ratnom zadatku, a Arijana, začudo, ostala u Sarajevu. Kako se osjećaš u studiju?

Saračević: ... Neobično...

Hadžifejzović: Ratni reporter? To je trebalo da bude muški posao.

Saračević: Ja ne mislim tako. Rat je pokazao da su u ovih šesnaest mjeseci žene bile puno jače. U bolnici, na frontu, na ovakvim zadacima kakav je naš posao.

Hadžifejzović: Bila si na svim prvim linijama. Bila si na Žuči u momentu kada je ta kota osvojena. Maltene, još se od granata okolo dimilo...

O čemu ratni reporter u tim situacijama razmišlja?

Saračević: Smatram da su ovu nagradu trebali da dobiju i Hakija Hadžalić i Šefik Uzunović, Dževad Čolaković /snimatelji/.

Kako se reporter osjeća na frontu? Ja sam uvijek sigurnija bila na frontu nego ovdje u gradu.

Hadžifejzović: Koliko u svemu tome zaista ima straha?

Saračević: Možda, sada, pomalo osjećam strah...U početku zaista nije bilo straha. Sada, kada sam u prilici da ponekad čujem glas svojih roditelja, kada me mole da se smirim ... u takvim situacijama čovjek počne da razmišlja o eventualnim posljedicama... Gore mi je najlakše, da









23 July 1993

NEWS TVBIH

. . Up there, it is easiest for me, working with the combatants. When I am up there, I get a sort of urge to work. . . It's like a drug that makes me come back next day.

Hadžifejzović: In all the surveys conducted by Radio Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the city radio station /Studio 99/, listeners voted you 'reporter of the year', and also MACHO of the year, which is rather interesting!

Saračević: All this of time I've been listening to what the people have to say. I've often been stopped in the street by people who tell me: 'Well, it's been three or four days since you were there, when are you going back up there?'. This meant a lot to me.

Hadžifejzović: How many reports have you made so far during the war?

Saračević: It's been a while I gave up counting... Sometimes I made four or five reports in a day...

1 September 1993

NEWS TVBIH

We've just had news from Geneva that the present round of negotiations has broken down, and that the whole process of peace negotiations may now be in question.

The Serbs and the Croats have proposed the following 'concessions': from the Serb side, the widening of the corridor to Goražde and Žepa by three kilometres. /which could even be controlled by catapult/ while the Croatian side offered the 'tip' of a certain peninsula in the Adriatic that no one has ever heard of.

5 September 1993

NEWS TVBIH

/Abandoned/ children at the Ljubica Ivezić Home had a pleasant surprise from humanists from Sarajevo Football Club

This city has shown today how is possible to share out a thousand cakes to ten hundred children 11.

11) yet another untranslatable play on words. Croats use a different word for 'thousand' from Bosniacs and Serbs.





radim sa borcima. Kada dođem gore, dobijem neki elan da radim... Doping da sutra opet dođem.

Hadžifejzović: U svim anketama na Radiju Bosne i Hercegovine, na gradskim radio stanicama "Studio 99" ti si od strane slušalaca proglašavana za reportera godine, ali zanimljivo i za MUŠKARČINU godine!

Saračević: U cijelom ovom periodu slušala sam glas naroda. Često se dešavalo da me ljudi zaustave na ulici, kažu "A, nisi bila tri-četiri dana, kada ćeš gore?!" To mi je mnogo značilo.

Hadžifejzović: Koliko si priloga uradila u toku rata?

Saračević: Odavno sam prestala da brojim. Dešavalo se da za dan napravim po četiri-pet priloga...

O1. septembar 1993.

Upravo smo u ovim trenucima iz Ženeve primili vijest da je ova runda ženevskih pregovora propala, a možda je u pitanju čitav proces mirovnih pregovora!

Srpska i hrvatska strana su kao navodne "ustupke" ponudili: sa srpske strane proširenje koridora do Goražda i Žepe u širini od tri kilometra /koji bi se mogao i pračkama kontrolisati/, a hrvatska strana je ponudila "špic" nekakvog poluotoka za koga niko na Jadranu nije čuo.

05. septembar 1993.

Danas su /napuštenu/ djecu u Domu "Ljubica Ivezić" obradovali humanisti iz Fudbalskog kluba "Sarajevo".

Ovaj Grad je danas pokazao kako se tisuću kolača može podijeliti na hiljadu djece.









5 September 1993

NEWS TVBIH

In a poll conducted by Alfa agency at the end of August, and published in the magazine Dani, 468 citizens of Sarajevo answered the following questions:

- The politician whom you trust the most? Dr. Haris Silajdžić
- The most respected member of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina? Stjepan Šiber

40% of those polled think that the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina will end with the creation of a Union of three states.

- About Alija Izetbegović's policy during the war:
- 39% of the citizens declared that his policies were in line with realistic possibilities
- 20% described it as good
- 5% as very good
- 25% as bad
- 28% as very bad

More than half of those polled don't believe there will be military intervention against the Serb positions.

Half of those polled intend to stay in this city.

Almost 42% would like to leave Sarajevo

Most of those polled see the future of Sarajevo as a city under the supervision of international organizations, or as an extra-territorial city.

The humanitarian organisations that have helped Sarajevo the most are:

UNHCR

ADRA





05. septembar 1993.

Agencija za ispitivanje javnog mnjenja "Alfa" u listu "Dani" objavljuje rezultate ankete obavljene krajem augusta u Sarajevu. Ispitano je 468 Sarajlija.

- Političar kojem najviše vjerujete?
 Dr. Haris Silajdžić
- Najcjenjeniji pripadnik Armije Bosne i Hercegovine?
 Stjepan Šiber

40% anketiranih misli da će se rat u BiH okončati stvaranjem Unije tri države.

- Za politiku Alije Izetbegovića tokom rata:
- 39% građana izjavilo da je bila u okviru realnih mogućnosti
- 20% kao dobru
- 5% kao veoma dobru
- 25% kao lošu
- 28% kao veoma lošu

Više od polovine ispitanika ne vjeruje u vojnu intervenciju na srpske položaje.

Polovina ispitanika namjerava ostati u ovom gradu.

Čak 42% želi napustiti Sarajevo.

Većina anketiranih vidi budućnost Sarajeva kao grada pod patronatom svjetske organizacije ili eksteritorijalnog grada.

- Humanitarna organizacija koja je najviše pomagala Sarajevu:

UNHCR

ADRA









8 October 1993

NEWS TVBIH

After his address at the 48th session of the UN General Assembly, one wonders whether the President should have been tougher, more open, and more direct in his speech.

Should he – as was his right – have appealed to countries who not only don't want to help resolve the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also, in fact, are achieving their own geopolitical interests in the bloodshed here.

But, the President decided to stay with his standard political modus operandi: sabr and merhametluk.¹²

12) Sabr: an Arabic word meaning patient endurance. Merhametluk, a hybrid Arabic/Turkish word meaning elemency, gentleness, kind-heartedness. *Trans*

12 October 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Radio France International, RFI, and Voice of America report that General Morillon has announced that is the best so ution for Bosnia and Herzegovina is an international protectorate!

Following this, Independent Radio Studio 99 conducted a poll during the day of citizens, its listeners and politicians, on what they think about a possible protectorate.

85.6 percent were FOR the introduction of a protectorate, either by the UN or by specific countries.

14.4 percent were AGAINST.

With certain reservations, the following parties were FOR the introduction of a protectorate: the Party of Democratic Action, the Bosniac Liberal Organization, and the Liberal party.

27 October 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The action by the Ministry of the Interior and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to implement the Presidential decision on the suppression of crime and lawlessness in the ranks of the Army and the dismissal of two Sarajevo brigade commanding officers, Ramiz Delalić Ćelo and Mušan Topalović Caco, has been officially described as successful and effective.

The action marked the start of a more resolute showdown by the State with the criminals in the army and police ranks.









08. oktobar 1993.

Nakon obraćanja svjetskoj asambleji na 48. zasjedanju Generalne skupštine UN-a postavlja se pitanje da li je predsjednik Predsjedništva u svom govoru trebao da bude žešći, otvoreniji i direktniji.

Da li je, a imao je pravo, trebao prozvati zemlje koje ne samo da neće da pomognu u rješavanju krize u Bosni i Hercegovini već ovdje, u ovoj krvi, ostvaruju svoje geopolitičke interese.

No, predsjednik je odlučio da ostane u okviru svog standardnog političkog nastupa: "Sabur i merhametluk".

12. oktobar 1993.

Francuski međunarodni radio, RFI, i Glas Amerike objavili su izjavu generala Morijona, da je najbolje rješenje za Bosnu i Hercegovinu – međunarodni protektorat!

Nezavisni radio Studio 99, proveo je tim povodom cjelodnevnu anketu među građanima, slušaocima i političarima, sa pitanjem šta misle o eventualnom protektoratu.

Za uvođenje protektorata UN-a ili pojedinih zemalja, izjasnilo se 85,6 procenata. Protiv je bilo 14,4 procenata.

Sa izvjesnim ogradama, za uvođenje protektorata bile su stranke: Stranka demokratske akcije, Liberalno-bošnjačka organizacija te Liberalna stranka!

27. oktobar 1993.

Akcija MUP-a i Armije BiH, čiji je cilj bio provođenje odluke Predsjedništva BiH o suzbijanju kriminala i samovolje u armijskim redovima i smjena dvojice komandanata sarajevskih brigada, Ramiza Delalića Ćele i Mušana Topalovića Cace, zvanično je okarakterisana kao - uspješna i efikasna.

Akcija je označila početak odlučnijeg razračunavanja države sa kriminalcima u armijskim i policijskim redovima.









27 October 1993

There is no need to wait for the final classification of historical documents before concluding that one of the most striking features of the war in Sarajevo, the fact that some of Sarajevo's young men with no more than a few rifles and not a flak-jacket between them stood hero'cally in defence of the city but were unable to maintain their image as heroes, will enter the history books.

Why are some of our national heroes losing their lives here to crime rather than bullets?

Out of all the sociological and psychological analyses, the most likely answer seems to be that on the one hand, their young shoulders were unable to bear the weight of the fame of war, and on the other that at the start of the war, they received no help, advice or direction from the state authorities.

Fortunately for this city, and for all of us, not everyone believed in the story that Revolution 'eats its own offspring'. . . What is truly remarkable is that the defenders of the city whose murky pre-war past might have led one to expect it of them did not succumb to the temptation to become big-shots.

8 November 1993

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE in the studio is Muhamed Kupusović, leader of the City of Sarajevo Authority.

Hadžifejzović: The occasion for this guest appearance is the ever-growing rumours of the City authorities to rise to the challenges of the war.

Kupusović: We have seen that there has been severe criticism of the structure of the c'ty authorities. Loudest of all were the 'Reformists', who subjected the authorities to a veritable barrage of criticism... I should have preferred these criticisms to have been well-founded and not just general. In my view, they are unjustifiably severe.

Hadžifejzović: One of the harshest accusations made by the Reformist Party is that the city authorities issued decisions that had met with severe criticism by citizens.

Kupusović: This is not well-founded. Ninety percent of the decisions of the Parliament have been reached by consensus. . .

Hadžifejzović: Why did the city authorities not explain more clearly, officially, to the citizens that many of the things that should have been done, were not done?

Kupusović: Extensive infrastructural works are being carried out in Sarajevo. These are major works, far more than those being carried out a year before the war. The City authorities have done a great deal.









27. oktobar 1993.

Ne mora se čekati na konačno sredivanje istorijskih dokumenata da bi se zaključilo da će u istoriju, kao jedan od najvećih sarajevskih ratnih fenomena, ući pitanje: "Zašto neki sarajevski momci koji su sa nekim puškicama i golim prsima stali u herojsku odbranu ovog grada nisu do kraja znali izgraditi svoje junačke likove?"

Zašto ovdje pojedini "narodni heroji" ginu prije zbog kriminala nego od metka?

Od svih socioloških i psiholoških analiza, istini je, čini se, najbliža tvrdnja da njihova mladalačka pleća, s jedne strane nisu mogla izdržati veliki teret ratne slave, niti im je, s druge strane, u vrijeme početka rata od državnih organa, na vrijeme pružena pomoć, sugestija, usmjerenje.

Na sreću ovog grada i svih nas, u priču da revolucija jede svoju djecu nisu ušli svi. Fenomen je da primamljivom iskušenju da se postane bog i batina nisu podlegli upravo oni branioci grada od kojih se to, zbog nekih mrlja u njihovom životu prije rata, na neki način i očekivalo.

08. novembar 1993.

(UŽIVO) u studiju Muhamed Kupusović, predsjednik Vlade Grada Sarajeva

Hadžifejzović: Povod ovom gostovanju su sve veće glasine o nesposobnosti gradske Vlade u izazovima rata.

Kupusović: Svjedoci smo da su upućene oštre kritike na strukture gradske vlasti. Najbučniji su bili reformisti koji su zaista osuli paljbu po gradskoj vlasti... Ja bih volio da su te kritike argumentovane, a ne, ovako uopštene... Mislim da su isuviše oštri...

Hadžifejzović: Jedna od najoštrijih optužbi iz "stranke reformista" na vaš rad jeste da je gradska Vlada donosila odluke koje su nailazile na oštre osude građana.

Kupusović: To je neargumentovano. Devedeset posto odluka u Skupštini su donesene konsenzusom...

Hadžifejzović: Zašto gradska Vlada nije jasnije, zvanično objasnila građanima da mnoge stvari koje su trebalo da budu urađene, nisu urađene?

Kupusović: U Sarajevu se izvode veliki radovi na infrastrukturi. To su obimni radovi, znatno veći nego li radovi koji su bili izvođeni godinu prije rata. Gradska Vlada je uradila veliki posao... Mislim









8 November 1993

NEWS TVBIH

... I think our citizens will very soon see some improvements. These are projects that are almost complete, to lay gas pipes, to extend the system and the mains water supply.

Hadžifejzović: In fact, you can't give the answer that is of greatest interest to the people: will there be more electricity, more gas, more water, and shall we still have them during the winter?

Kupusović: As far as water is concerned the situation wil be markedly improved. As regards gas, there is no more that the city can do. It depends on whether our assailants turn on the the taps. . .

12 November 1993

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE Our guest on the News tonight is Arijana Saračević, the world's bravest war reporter

Hadžifejzović: Our quest on the News is the world's leading war reporter, TVBH journalist Arijana Saračević, who just returned from New York, where she received the International Award for journalistic bravery., Arči, how was it, where have you been, what's been going on in New York?

Saračević: I was in New York for five or six days. I literally didn't stop working the entire t'me. I ve even lost two kilos! I was deeply moved during the Award Ceremony. It was the first time that I'd seen a film about myself. You were in it too, Senad, and our colleagues, our fellow citizens. . . I said to myself, 'no tears, Arijana, go out there and show them you're a Bosnian!'

Hadžifejzović: The creme de la creme of America was at the Award Ceremony: the General Manager of General Motors, the General Manager of Coca Cola, Jacqueline Kennedy-Onassis. What's their perception of what's going on here?

Saračević: N'nety percent of them bel'eve that in fact it is a civil war.

I was angry about this, and I said: 'What's happening in my country is a classic example of aggression'. So then they asked me what aggression is. I replied: 'Madam, if let's say, Susanne King, who is here, were to come into your house and say, these two rooms in your villa are now mine!' She said: 'But that's impossible'. But in our country it's possible all right. . .

Hadžifejzović: The award you received is a new award, but a very important one.







08. novembar 1993.

da će građani uskoro osjetiti određena poboljšanja. To su projekti na gasifikaciji, proširenju mreže, vodozahvati su pri kraju.

Hadžifejzović: Vi, ustvari, ne možete dati odgovor na pitanje koje ljude najviše interesuje: Hoće li biti više struje, više plina, više vode i hoće li toga biti za vrijeme zime?

Kupusović: Što se tiče vode, stanje će biti znatno bolje. Što se tiče plina tu grad ne može uraditi ništa više. To je stvar hoće li agresor odvrnuti slavine...

12. novembar 1993.

(UŽIVO) Gost Dnevnika Arijana Saračević, najhrabriji ratni reporter u svijetu

Hadžifejzović: Gost Dnevnika je "Ratni reporter broj 1 u svijetu", novinar TVBiH Arijana Saračević, koja se upravo vratila iz New Yorka gdje je primila Međunarodnu nagradu za novinarsku hrabrost. Dobro došla, Arči, kako je bilo, gdje si bila, šta se dešavalo u New Yorku?

Saračević: Bila sam pet-šest dana u New Yorku. Bukvalno, sve vrijeme sam radila po cijeli dan! Čak sam smršala dva kilograma! Na dodjeli nagrade bila sam vrlo emotivna. Vidjela sam prvi put film o sebi. Bio si i ti tu, Senade, naše kolege, sugrađani... Rekla sam sebi: "Arijana, nema suza, izađi i pokaži da si Bosanka"!

Hadžifejzović: Na dodjeli nagrade bila je američka "krema": generalni direktor "General motorsa", glavni menadžer "Coca-Cole", Žaklina Kenedi-Onazis.

Kakav odnos imaju prema našoj zbilji?

Saračević: Devedeset posto njih su bili uvjereni da se radi o građanskom ratu. Ja sam bila ljuta, rekla sam: "U mojoj zemlji se radi o klasičnoj agresiji!" Onda su pitali šta je agresija. Rekla sam: "Gospođo, kada bi u vašu kuću došla, evo, recimo, Suzana King, koja je ovdje i rekla: Ove dvije sobe u tvojoj vili sada su moje!" Ona je rekla: "Ali, pa to ne može!"... Eh, kod nas može...

Hadžifejzović: Nagrada koju si dobila je mlada nagrada, ali vrlo značajna.









12 November 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Saračević: The International Media Women's Foundation has been allocating awards bravery since 1989. It is an annual award for journalists. Everyone who's received it is a woman, except Kemal Kurspahić, who received it last year. The prize is a Crystal Eagle, which weighs twenty kilos. I left it in the US because UNPROFOR doesn't allow that much luggage into Sarajevo.

Hadžifejzović: Instead of the Crystal Eagle you chose to bring in a bullet-proof vest.

Saračević: CNN offered me a bullet-proof vest. They couldn't believe that I'd been working without one, and without a helmet too. I told them that none of my colleagues had one, and that if my cameraman colleague /Sulejman Mulaomerović/ had had one on Mount Igman, when he was wounded, he wouldn't have ended up with his guts in his hands. This bullet-proof vest will be more suitable for a soldier. . .

Hadžifejzović: They offered you a grant in America, they suggested you stay there. . . Why did you come back so quickly, when you had a work permit valid for a year?

Saračević: My country's at war, it's no time for holidays. Tomorrow or the day after, I could be on the front line!

16 November 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Two priests were killed in the Franciscan monastery /by Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina troops/ when the Croatian Defence Council /HVO/ attacked the town of Fojnica.

There have been countless similar instances when we, TV Bosnia and Herzegovina, have shown that we will not cover up any atrocity of which there is clear evidence, nor do we ever wish to do so.

You will no doubt recall that we were the first to react to the crime /the murder of a Croat/ committed by the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Uzdol.

Nor shall we permit ourselves on this occasion to extenuate or to say nothing about the death of a Franciscan priest.

Not least because educated people cannot overlook what this Order has done for Bosnia during the past seven centuries.

Anyone who knows about Bosnia knows that the Franciscans were our first lesson in civilization.

If you don't know about the Franciscans, you don't know about Bosnia.









Saračević: "International media womens fondation" dodjeljuje nagradu od 1989. godine za hrabrost. To je novinarska godišnja nagrada. Dobitnice su žene, osim Kemala Kurspahića koji ju je dobio prošle godine. Nagrada je "Kristalni orao" težak 20 kilograma. Ja sam ga ostavila u Americi jer UNPROFOR ne dozvoljava da se toliko prtljaga unese u Sarajevo.

Hadžifejzović: Umjesto "Kristalnog orla" izabrala si da doneseš pancir.

Saračević: CNN mi je poklonio pancir. Nisu mogli da vjeruju da ja radim bez pancira i šljema. Rekla sam da pancir nema niko od naših kolega, da je moj kolega kamerman /Sulejman Mulaomerović/ to imao na Igmanu kad je ranjen, ne bi držao svoja crijeva u rukama. Taj pancir će više dobro doći nekom borcu...

Hadžifejzović: Nudili su ti stipendiju u Americi, ponude da ostaneš... Zašto si se brzo vratila kada si imala radnu vizu na godinu dana?

Saračević: U mojoj zemlji je rat, nije vrijeme za odmor. Sutra, prekosutra na front!

16. novembar 1993.

Prilikom napada Hrvatskog vijeća obrane na Fojnicu u Franjevačkom samostanu su ubijena dva svećenika. /Ubili su ih borci Armije Republike BiH./

U bezbroj sličnih situacija, mi smo, Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine, dokazali da nećemo i neželimo sakriti ni jedan zločin za koji postoje jasne indicije i dokazi da je počinjen.

Vjerovatno se sjećate da smo prvi reagovali na zločin koji je počinila Armija Bosne i Hercegovine u Uzdolu. /Ubistvo Hrvata, op.a./

Stoga ni ovoga puta ne možemo šutjeti i prešutjeti smrt franjevaca! Iz najmanjeg razloga, što pismeni ljudi ne mogu zanemariti ono što je ovaj red učinio za sedam vijekova za Bosnu.

Ko je učio o Bosni zna da je prva lekcija civilizacije na ovim prostorima - franjevci!

Ko ne zna o franjevcima - ne zna ni o Bosni.









16 November 1993

NEWS TVBIH

If we really want to be sincere, then, and if we want peace, we must speak out about every atrocity. Given that we were first to speak out about Uzdol, and that this evening, regrettably, we must give a prominent place to the death of two men who were not only Franciscans but also Bosnians, it is proper in both human and professional terms to expect that others will react in like fashion.

Instead, however, the reaction to the destruction of the Old Bridge /in Mostar, by Croat forces/ has been silence.

Silence that we have justified. With shame.

Granić, /Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia/, who promised us peace when the assault on Fojnica began, has thrown lies in our face.

No one said anything about the thousands of children who have died in Sarajevo and in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole.

As for the destruction of eight hundred mosques, we have received about twenty hesitant protests and signs of regret.

Isn't there anyone in this country with the courage to say:

A crime is a crime, an atrocity an atrocity, and the perpetrator isn't in my camp or yours!

20 November 1993

NEWS TVBIH

/ The Old Bridge in Mostar has been destroyed. Here is the first footage of the direct bombardment of the bridge. /

While Mostar is being mercilessly ravaged, and everything in the city is being exterminated, everything that symbolises the existence of the Muslim people

in Sarajevo the Croatian Cultural Society Napredak is expanding its activities unimpeded.

This is the simple truth.









16. novembar 1993.

No, ako zaista želimo da budemo iskreni i ako hoćemo mir, onda moramo progovoriti o svim zločinima.

Ako smo mi prvi progovorili o Uzdolu, ako, evo večeras dajemo, nažalost, značajno mjesto pogibiji dvojice, ne samo franjevaca već i Bosanaca, onda je valjda ljudsko i profesionalno pravo da očekujemo reakciju.

Umjesto toga dobili smo šutnju o rušenju Starog mosta. Šutnju koju smo opravdali. Sramotom. Dobili smo laž u lice od Granića /potpredsjednik Vlade Hrvatske, op.a/ koji je obećao mir u vrijeme početka napada na Fojnicu. Niko se nije oglasio povodom smrti hiljada djece u Sarajevu i BiH. Za porušenih osam stotina džamija primili smo stidljivih dvadesetak protesta i znakova žalosti.

Zašto u ovoj zemlji niko nije hrabar da kaže:

Zločin je zločin, a onaj ko ga je počinio nije ni moj ni tvoj!

20. novembar 1993.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

/Srušen je Stari most. Emitujemo prve snimke direktnih pogodaka u Most/

U vrijeme kada se Mostar nemilosrdno ruši, kada se u njemu ubija sve što simbolizira postojanje muslimanskog naroda,

u Sarajevu, Hrvatsko kulturno društvo "Napredak", nesmetano proširuje svoju djelatnost.

To je jednostavno, tako.











2 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

It sounds almost incredible, the news that after twenty months of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, somewhere out there in the wide world a group of distinguished experts are meeting to hold a seminar on the protection and preservation of the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina

After the destruction of the Old Bridge, of eight hundred mosques, of dozens of parish churches; after museums and all their exhibits, institutes and their libraries have gone up in flames: after all this, here's Europe talking about protecting what's already dead and gone.

6 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The President of the Liberal Party is back in action, politically, after being wounded.

Given what Rasim Kadić said at today's press conference, it's not hard to conclude that certain people would rather see him in bed than on the TV screen.

6 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE in the studio is Ibrahim Koluder, Minister in the Government of BiH responsible for Mostar

Hadžifejzović: Ibrahim Koluder, Minister for Mostar district and tonight's guest on the News, has for the first time attended a session of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

What's happening in Mostar?

Koluder: Mostar is experiencing its own Golgotha. Voice of America recently announced that Mostar is currently the most endangered city in the world.

A.most the whole of Herzegovina is crammed into Mostar.

I think we've touched bottom. Things can only get better from now on.

We're still getting our water from the Neretva /river/, and food is getting through to us only in dribs and drabs.







Gotovo nevjerovatno zvuči informacija da se nakon dvadeset mjeseci agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, tamo negdje u svijetu sastaju eminentni stručnjaci da na nekom seminaru govore o zaštiti i očuvanju bosanskohercegovačke kulturne baštine.

Nakon što je uništen Stari most, osam stotina džamija, desetine župskih crkava, nakon što su spaljeni muzeji sa eksponatima, instituti sa knjigama, Evropa staje u zaštitu pokopanog!?

06. decembar 1993.

Predsjednik Liberalne stranke nakon ranjavanja ponovo je politički aktivan.

S obzirom šta je Rasim Kadić na današnjoj press-konferenciji rekao, lako je zaključiti da bi ga neki ljudi i dalje više voljeli vidjeti u posteljini nego na ekranu.

06. decembar 1993.

(UŽIVO) Ibrahim Koluder, ministar BiH zadužen za Mostar

Hadžifejzović: Prvi put sjednici Vlade Bosne i Hercegovine prisustvovao je njen ministar za okrug Mostar, Ibrahim Koluder koji je gost Dnevnika. Šta se dešava u Mostaru?

Koluder: Mostar preživljava svoju golgotu.

Nedavno je "Glas Amerike" objavio da je Mostar trenutno najugroženiji grad svijeta.

U Mostaru je "zgurana" skoro cijela Hercegovina.

Čini mi se da smo dodirnuli dno. Sada bi trebalo nabolje.

Mi i dalje pijemo Neretvu.

Hrana dolazi na kašičicu, na kašike.



6 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: What can actually be done to help Mostar?

Koluder: It's been six months since we've had any electricity.

Our fuel reserves of petrol are almost depleted. Winter's begun. The problem is heating fuel

Hadžifejzović: None of Bosnia's towns and cities is truly Bosnian, and this is especially so of Mostar, if it's without optimism. . .

Koluder: Mostar has been a city for more than five hundred years.

The spirit of Mostar is indomitable.

We have songs that are three or four hundred years old.

There are some good things in Mostar: three thousand children attend school!

Some of the pupils are the admiration of their teachers, given the danger they face from snipers and shells.

The UNICEF personnel who are supporting this are delighted.

We have lectures and art exhibitions..

We also have the Bulbuli /Nightingales/ orchestra with the famous doyen Izet Mostarac.

Not long ago, there were about a hundred people, a hundred meters away from the frontline, singing, relaxing, raising each other's spirits. . . and standing their ground.

The soul, strength and tradition of Mostar inspire us with optimism.

Hadžifejzović: At the Geneva talks the issue of partitioning both Mostar and Sarajevo is very much on the table.

Koluder: Mostar is a cosmopolitan city, an open city, the city of every Mostaran.

This is the Mostar we stand for.

We're not insisting that it be Muslim,

but in no circumstances can it be Croatian, either.

10 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

The agreement to improve the humanitarian situation and to open up the aid corridors stands out as the sole successful outcome of the last round of Geneva talks.

UNPROFOR report today that the situation has altered drastically since this agreement was reached in Geneva.

It's even worse than it was.



Hadžifejzović: Kako se Mostaru, ustvari, može pomoći?

Koluder: Mi već šest mjeseci nemamo električne energije.

Nestaju i posljednje količine goriva. Ušli smo u zimu. Problem je ogrijeva...

Hadžifejzović: Nijedan grad u Bosni ne bi bio bosanski grad, pogotovo Mostar, da tu nema optimizma...

Koluder: Mostar je grad preko 500 godina.

Mostar ima neuništiv duh.

lmamo pjesme trista-četiristo godina stare.

lma lijepih stvari u Mostaru: tri hiljade đaka ide u školu!

Nekim đacima dolaze učitelji "na noge" jer je opasno od snajpera, granata...

Predstavnici UNICEF-a koji ovo podržavaju, oduševljeni su.

Imamo predavanja, izložbe slika.

lmamo ansambl "Bulbuli" sa proslavljenim Izetom Mostarcem koji je doajen.

Nedavno je stotinjak ljudi na sto metara od prve borbene linije pjevalo, opustilo se, dizalo moral, duh... i odolijeva.

Duh Mostara, snaga Mostara, tradicija, ulijevaju optimizam.

Hadžifejzović: U ženevskim pregovorima podjela Mostara, kao i podjela Sarajeva, prilično je aktuelna.

Koluder: Mostar je kosmopolitski grad, otvoren grad, grad svih Mostaraca.

Mi smo za takav Mostar.

Ne tražimo da on bude muslimanski,

ali ni u kom slučaju ne može biti ni hrvatski.

10. decembar 1993.

Kao jedini uspjeh prošle runde ženevskih pregovora istican je dogovor o poboljšanju humanitarne situacije i oslobađanju humanitarnih koridora.

Prema današnjem izvještaju UNPROFOR-a, nakon ovog ženevskog dogovora, situacija se zaista drastično promijenila

Sada je još gora.





10 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

In peacetime, with time on one's hands, such barefaced impostures as Human Rights Day used to be given a prominent place in every news broadcast.

We mention it now, at the end of the News, just to highlight the hypocrisy of Europe and of the world.

14 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

At least five people are being killed every day in Sarajevo. The tally for today is eleven.

Every word every outpouring of anger reinforces the patience of the Bosnians.

And so does hate and so does vengeance.

22 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

EUROVISION exchange footage - 'The Wandering Footage'

Hadžifejzović: Most of the television stations of the world, who understand what the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is essentially about, have broadcast the following footage /from the Geneva peace talks/.

It didn't matter to them what was being said; the images of the saloon-bar atmosphere were sufficient.

This is how a Croatian 'Ban'¹³ sells the 'historical territory of Croatia' – which actually belongs to Bosnia and Herzegovina – to a Serbian 'Leader'.

13) mediaeval ruler





10. decembar 1993.

U mirnim i dokonim vremenima jedna takva bjelosvjetska laža, varalica kakva je "Dan ljudskih prava" zauzimala je visoko protokolarno mjesto u informativnim emisijama.

Mi je objavljujemo pred kraj Dnevnika tek toliko da ukažemo na evropsko i svjetsko licemjerstvo.

14. decembar 1993.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Dnevno u Sarajevu gine najmanje pet ljudi. Danas je poginulo jedanaest.

Od svake riječi, svakog izlivenog gnjeva, jače je strpljenje bosanskog čovjeka.

1 od mržnje 1 od osvete.

22. decembar 1993.

EVROVIZIJA: razmjena filmskih inserata - "Zalutali snimak"

Hadžifejzović: Većina svjetskih televizijskih stanica, koje poznaju suštinu sukoba u Bosni i Hercegovini, prenijela je slike koje slijede /sa ženevskih mirovnih pregovora/.

Njima nije bilo važno šta se /o čemu/ govori jer je "krčmarska" slika bila sasvim dovoljna. Evo kako hrvatski "ban" prodaje srpskom "voždu" "povijesni teritorij Hrvatske", to jest prostor Bosne i Hercegovine.







22 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

Slobodan Milošević, President of Serbia: This isn't Croatian territory, no way!

Radovan Karadžić: Kiseljak with Busovača. . that leaves Kreševo. . that's entire y under your reality,

Hrvoje Šarinić, Croatian Government: On the basis of everything we've been discussing, and we've been talking about it for ages, as far as I'm concerned this is unacceptable!

Karadžić: My good people, this is Serb! Look at the names!

Sarinic: /tut-tutting in protest/: ! What do you mean, Serb? Come off it. . .

Karadžić: Vukovsko! Gornje Vukovsko, Donje Vukovsko, Ravno! It's all Serb!

Absolutely! Not a single Croat has ever lived there!

Dr. Franjo Tuđman, President of the Republic of Croatia: Where?

What's the proportion of Croats there? Thirty-four percent? Where are they? Where are these Croats, anyway?

Note: This Eurovision footage was broadcast for days by the television stations of the world, and even by ours. I decided to watch the original exchange tape again, and found this sound-track on it, recorded by the cameraman using so-called IT background sound.

30 December 1993

NEWS TVBIH

This evening's News team wish every combatant of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and everyone whose heart belongs to Bosnia, a Happy New Year.

Whether our New Year resolutions will come true now lies, more than ever before, in our own hands.

We must do everything we can in the coming year to ensure that the year just ended will prove to have been our worst year.

We wish a Happy New Year to our boys in the trenches and to every Bosnian refugee the world over.

Keep your chin up, Bosnia.





Slobodan Milošević, predsjednik Srbije: Ovo nije hrvatsko područje, uopšte!

Radovan Karadžić: kiseljak sa Busovačom... ostalo je još Kreševo... to je potpuno u vašoj kontroli.

Hrvoje Šarinić, Vlada Hrvatske: Na temelju svega što smo razgovarali, a dugo smo razgovarali, ovo je, što se mene tiče, neprihvatljivo!

Karadžić: Ljudi moji, ovo je srpsko!!! Pogledajte imena!

Sarinić: Ck! Ma, srpsko, nemojte...

Karadžić: Vukovsko! Gornje Vukovsko, Donje Vukovsko, Ravno! To sve srpsko! Apsolutno! Nikada nijedan Hrvat tu nije živio!

Dr. Franjo Tuđman, predsjednik Republike Hrvatske: Gdje?

Koliko je Hrvata tu?! Trideset četiri posto? Gdje su? Gdje su Hrvati, uopće?

Napomena: Ovaj evrovizijski snimak emitirao se danima na svjetskim televizijama, pa i našoj. Odlučio sam da pregledam originalnu, razmjensku traku i na njoj sam pronašao ovaj tonski zapis, koji je snimatelj zabilježio takozvanim ambijentalnim IT-tonom i evo šta sam našao.

30. decembar 1993.

Ekipa koja potpisuje večerašnji Dnevnik čestita Novu godinu borcima Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine i svima kojima je ova zemlja na srcu.

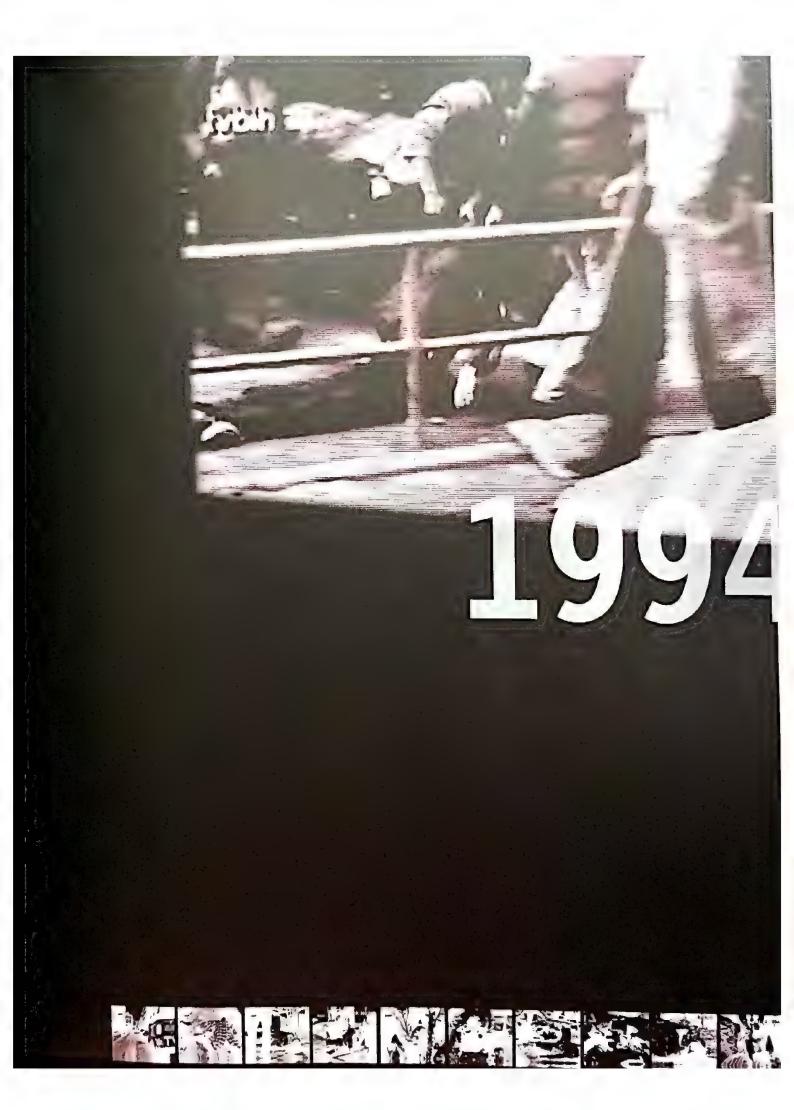
Ostvarenje svih naših novogodišnjih želja je, više nego ikada, u našim rukama.

U narednoj godini moramo učiniti sve da bi ova godina ostala zabilježena kao naša najgora godina.

Sretno novo ljeto želimo našim momcima u rovovima i izbjeglicama bosanskim širom svijeta.

Glavu gore, Bosno.





7 January 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Sadly, yet another Radio-Television Bosnia and Herzegovina staff member has been killed. That makes thirty since the war broke out.

Sead Isović Sejo is no longer with us.

One of the aggressor's shells has ended the life of a calm, quiet, conscientious man. We have lost a colleague who hadn't missed a day's work since the beginning of the war.

7 January 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Serbian Orthodox Christians who have remained in the cities and towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and who have not turned their back on their neighbours, have been celebrating Christmas with dignity, their honour intact.

Our crews filmed this morning's Christmas Services in the Orthodox churches of Sarajevo and Zenica.

Our most sincere good wishes to our neighbours, our friends, Orthodox Christians of Bosnia.

7 January 1994

NEWS TVBIH

In the capital city /Belgrade/ of a broken-down state that is imposing its misery on its neighbours, too, people are scrambling and fighting for bread.

The Serbian propaganda assures the population that things will soon be better but by evening it's already worse than in the afternoon.

No one is using dinars to pay for things any more. There just aren't any.

The last gaps are being plugged with cheques. For instance, it takes eight cheques to buy a single tube of toothpaste. If it should occur to someone to buy a new TV set to watch the filthy lies of Belgrade TV, he would need fifteen hundred cheques.

Of course, we don't broadcast footage from Belgrade for the fun of it.

Nobody's blood can compensate for Bosnian blood.

Nor anyone's misery.





07. januar 1994.

Nažalost poginuo je još jedan član kolektiva Radio-televizije BiH. To je trideseta žrtva /iz kolektiva/ od početka agresije.

Među nama nije više Sead Isović Sejo. Zločinačka granata prekinula je život jednog mirnog, tihog čovjeka, vrijednog radnika. Izgubili smo radnika koji je od početka agresije svakodnevno bio na svojim radnim zadacima.

07. januar 1994.

Oni pravoslavci koji su ostali u bosanskohercegovačkim gradovima i koji nisu okrenuli leđa svojim komšijama, dostojanstveno i čista obraza obilježili su Božić.

Naše ekipe snimile su jutrošnje službe Božije u pravoslavnim hramovima u Sarajevu i Zenici.

Naše iskrene čestitke našim komšijama, prijateljima, Bosancima pravoslavcima.

07. januar 1994.

U glavnom gradu /Beogradu/ jedne propale države, koja svoju bijedu nameće i svojim komšijama, ljudi se otimaju ili tuku za hljeb.

Srbijanska propaganda ubjeđuje stanovnike da će ubrzo biti sve bolje, a već je večeras gore nego li popodne.

Dinar više nije nikakvo sredstvo plaćanja. Jednostavno ga nema.

Zadnje rupe krpe se čekovima.

Primjera radi: za jednu pastu za zube mora se popuniti osam čekova. Ako nekome padne na pamet da prljave laži beogradske televizije gleda preko novog televizora, za to će mu trebati hiljadu i petsto čekova.

Naravno, slike iz Beograda ne objavljujemo da bismo imali bilo kakvu ličnu satisfakciju.

Bosansku krv ne može zamijeniti ničija krv.

Niti bilo čija bijeda.



15 January 1994 NEWS TVBIH

LIVE Dr. Haris Silajdžić, Prime Minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Hadžifejzović: Our guest on the News tonight is Prime Minister S'ladžić. Foreign TV companies camera crews are on stand-by for this feature of questions for you.

The new round of talks begin in Geneva in three days.

Silajdžić: All this going to Geneva without anything coming of it is becoming pointless, they're discrediting . . . We shall go to Geneva. I have to say I'm not optimistic. There was a proposal at the session of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina that the 'Bosnian case' - unfortunately we've become a 'case' - should be handed over to the UN Security Council.

Hadžifejzović: The politicians of the world are fed up with Bosnia, and there's a risk that pressure may be brought to bear in Geneva on the Bosnian delegation.

Silajdžić: Pressure is being brought to bear on Bosnia and Herzegovina by the very fact that they are not allowing us the right of self-defence.

Our case should have been ended ong ago. However, we've survived.

Not only have we survived, we're successfully acting in self-defence!

What does this mean? The embargo wasn't sufficient!

They tried to the weapons from our very hands to force us to surrender. When that didn't work, they wanted to deprive us of the last 'weapon' we have, which is the global public and our legality! This is why they keep equating all three sides.

In my view there are certain circles abroad that can tolerate the so-called Muslim side only as a helpless victim, and no way as a legal Government.

But we aren't a helpless victim, and that's what's bothering them.

To put it simply, they took the weapons from our hands, and now they need to deprive us of public support, and then we'll be ready to capitulate.

These days, political realism, or real politik, is merely a euphemism for capitulation.

Hadžifejzović: Our first and only argument is our defence, and that's why you said to the troops under siege in Sarajevo that you are going to Geneva with your eyes focussed on the troops?





UŽIVO Dr. Haris Silajdžić, premijer Republike Bosne i Hercegovine

Hadžifejzović: Gost Dnevnika je premijer Silajdžić.

Ekipe stranih TV kompanija čekaju ovaj blok pitanja za Vas.

Za tri dana u Ženevi počinje nova runda pregovora.

Silajdžić: Stalni odlasci u Ženevu bez rezultata postaju besmisleni, diskredituju... mi ćemo ići u Ženevu... Moram reći, nisam optimista... Na sjednici Predsjedništva BiH bilo je prijedloga da se "slučaj Bosna", nažalost mi smo postali "slučaj", prebaci u Savjet bezbjednosti UN-a ...

Hadžifejzović: Svjetskim političarima Bosne je preko glave, postoji opasnost da se u Ženevi izvrši pritisak na bosansku delegaciju.

Silajdžić: Na Bosnu i Hercegovinu je izvršen pritisak samim tim što nam nije dozvoljeno da se branimo!

Naš slučaj je trebalo da bude davno završen. Međutim, mi smo preživjeli.

Ne samo da smo preživjeli, nego se branimo!

Šta to znači? Embargo nije bio dovoljan!

Trebalo nam je uzeti oružje iz ruke da bismo se predali. Kako to nije pomoglo treba nam uzeti posljednje "oružje" koje imamo a to je svjetska javnost i naš legalitet!

Zbog toga izjednačavanje sve tri strane.

Mislim da izvjesni krugovi u inostranstvu mogu tolerisati tu takozvanu muslimansku stranu samo kao bespomoćnu žrtvu a nikako kao legalnu vladu.

Dakle, bespomoćna žrtva nismo i to im smeta.

Jednostavno govoreći, uzeli su nam oružje iz ruke sad treba da nam uzmu iz ruku podršku javnosti a onda smo spremni za kapitulaciju.

Politički realizam ili realna politika ovih dana je eufemizam za kapitulaciju.

Hadžifejzović: Naš prvi, jedini argument je naša odbrana i zato ste borcima okupljenim u Sarajevu kazali da odlazite u Ženevu sa očima uprtim u borce?





15 January 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Silajdžić: They are to blame. By any normal logic we should have surrendered long ago, and that's why we have problems now. The problem is that we have survived, that we are fighting back in self-defence – and that's a good thing!

It wasn't what was expected. Now they have to equate us with all the others so it will be said that the 'Muslim' side wants war. The side that is under embargo, that has no armaments, the side that has lost two hundred thousand people – that's the side that wants war? The truth is that the international community condemned Bosnia and Herzegovina to death, but we're still alive. That's the entire problem.

Hadžifejzović: The Republic of Croatia has proposed a Union or Confederation with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Silajdžić: What's positive about that proposal is that they're trying to find a solution. The person who came up with this proposal, however, has lost sight of the fact that what is at stake is a dialogue between two sovere gn states. . .

Hadžifejzović: The 1991 Karađorđevo agreement between Tuđman and Milošević is very hard-line and rigid. It raises the question how sincere this Croatian proposal is. What is more in the interests of Croatia's President Tuđman: to see the Karađorđevo agreement implemented, or this new idea for a Croat Confederation, Union or close cooperation with Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Silajdžić: There is no precedent for this whole affair. First, for the international community to take the side of the aggressors against a small country. This is something that will enter the annals of history to the end of time.

There were meetings in Karadordevo, but not only in Karadordevo. Regular meetings were held in Dobanovci too. We know this.

They reckoned without the host, however.

Nothing can be resolved any more without the Bosniacs, the Muslims, the Croats, the Serbs and others who are true to their homeland of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are now a political and a military factor to be reckoned with.

Mind, maps for the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina were put to the Bundestag three years ago! I'm talking of the Croatian side. Hence Prozor, and the genocide of the Bosniacs, the Muslims.

If the Croatian leadership understands that this is not 1939, that there'll be no partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can come to an agreement.

As far as we're concerned, the Karadordevo agreements are irrejevant.

We know what our own interests are.

Silajdžić: Oni su "krivi". Mi smo se davno trebali predati po svakoj logici i zbog toga sada imamo problema. Problem je u tome što preživljavamo, borimo se i branimo - i to je dobro!

To se nije očekivalo. Sada nas treba izjednačavati sa ostalima tako što će se reći: "muslimanska" strana želi rat! Ta strana koja ima embargo, koja nema oružje, ta strana na kojoj je poginulo dvjesta hiljada ljudi želi rat?!

lstina je da je svjetska zajednica osudila Bosnu i Hercegovinu na smrt, a da smo mi još uvijek živi. Tu je čitav problem.

Hadžifejzović: Republika Hrvatska je ponudila Bosni i Hercegovini prijedlog unije ili konfederacije.

Silajdžić: U tom prijedlogu je pozitivno to što se traži rješenje. Autor tog prijedloga, međutim gubi iz vida da se radi o dijalogu između dvije suverene države...

Hadžifejzović: Dogovor Tuđmana i Miloševića iz Karađorđeva /1991. god.op.a./ je vrlo jak i tvrd. Postavlja se pitanje iskrenosti ovog hrvatskog prijedloga. Šta je hrvatskom predsjedniku Tuđmanu više u interesu: realizacija dogovora iz Karađorđeva ili ova nova stvar za Hrvatsku konfederacija, unija ili bliska saradnja sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom?

Silajdžić: Ovo je stvar bez presedana. Prvo, da svjetska zajednica stane na stranu agresije protiv jedne male zemlje. Ovo je nešto što ostaje u analima istorije dok je svijeta i vijeka.

Bilo je sastanaka u Karađorđevu, ne samo u Karađorđevu. Održavani su redovni sastanci u Dobanovcima. Mi to znamo.

To su računi bez krčmara.

Ne može se bez Bošnjaka-muslimana, Hrvata, Srba i ostalih koji su lojalni svojoj domovini Bosni i Herecgovini više ništa riješit!

Mi smo sada politički i vojni faktor!

Pazite, karte o podjeli Bosne i Hercegovine donosile su se u /njemački/ Bundestag prije tri godine!!! Govorim o hrvatskoj strani. Odatle Prozor, genocid nad Bošnjacima-muslimanima!

Ukoliko je jasno rukovodstvu Hrvatske da ovo nije 1939. godina, da neće doći do podjele Bosne i Hercegovine onda će doći do sporazuma.

Što se nas tiče dogovori u Karadorđevu su irelevantni.

Mi znamo svoj interes.

22 January 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Today, on this spot in Sarajevo, two enemy shells killed six boys and girls, and seriously injured two.

Six little Sarajevans have been killed for the sake of the crazy idea of Greater Serbia. They were guilty of only one thing they believed in this fraudulent ceasefire.

None of the boys and girls killed had even been born when the Winter Olympics were held in Sarajevo. Exactly ten years ago. Little 'Olympic athletes' had only ice-clad parking lots instead of the skating rinks and sleigh runs on the mountains around us.

Two sisters were killed on these sleighs. They'd borrowed them from friends.

Most Bosnians can't watch Bosnia and Herzegovina TV. This is being re-broadcast on the radio which is why we have to explain that what's on the screen right now is the blood and scattered brains of Sarajevan boys and girls.

They can pick up our radio signal in Serbia, too. Serbia ought to be listening tonight to hear how its 'heroes' manning the cannons have killed six little Sarajevans. Serbia ought to know that so far its 'sons' have killed more than sixteen hundred children in Sarajevo







Danas u Sarajevu, na ovom mjestu od dvije zločinačke granate ubijeno je šest dječaka i djevojčica. Dvoje je teško ranjeno.

Šest malih Sarajlija je ubijeno u ime ludačke ideje "velike Srbije". Njihova jedina "krivica" je što su vjerovali u varljivo zatišje.

Nijedno od nastradalih dječaka i djevojčica nije bilo rođeno za vrijeme Zimske olimpijade u Sarajevu. Prije tačno deset godina. Mali "olimpijci" su njihova okupirana klizališta i sankaške staze na okolnim planinama zamijenili ledom na parkiralištu.

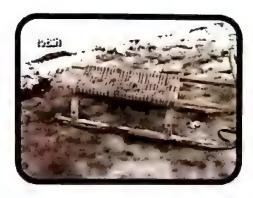
Na ovim saonicama su poginule dvije sestre. Sanke su posudile od prijatelja.

Većina Bosanaca ne može vidjeti signal Televizije Bosne i Hercegovine. Ova emisija se reemituje na Radiju i zato ćemo reći da je sada u kadru prolivena krv i prosuti mozak sarajevskih dječaka i djevojčica.

Naš radijski signal se čuje i u Srbiji. Večeras Srbija treba da čuje da su njeni "heroji" iz topova ubili šestoro malih Sarajlija. Srbija treba da čuje da su njeni "sinovi" do sada u Sarajevu ubili preko hiljadu i šesto sarajevske djece,







22 January 1994

NEWS TVBIH

and around twenty thousand. in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Serbia needs to hear that they're not only Muslim children. Here Serb 'soldiers' are killing Sero and Croat children too, and the children of mixed marriages.

Today and tomorrow are holidays both in Serbia and in Europe. Belgrade television will not show the footage of these dead little Sarajevans. And Europe's TV stations will censor those horrifying pictures so as to not spoil their viewers' weekend.

The diplomatic scumbags of Europe and of the world are taking their kids skiing today on the mountains of Europe. Children in Seroia and Europe today do not know that their fathers are criminals.

From now on, we are the poorer by six little lilies14.

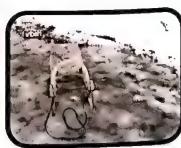
From now on, we are six times sadder than yesterday.

From now on, we have to be six times stronger. 14) Until the international community mposed a new flag with a 'neutral' design, the flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina bore golden fleur de lis on a blue ground, a design chosen for the newly independent state specifically because it did not symbolize any one of the country's people, but had been used throughout the country's history as the symbol of a lits peoples. The fleur de lis, or lily, is still for many the symbol of the Bosnia and Herzegovina they fought for, a country where people of different faiths and traditions lived side by side, for the most part peaceably. Trans.









22. januar 1994. DNEVNIK TVBIH

a u Bosni i Hercegovini oko dvadeset hiljada.

Srbija treba da čuje da to nisu samo djeca Muslimana. Ovdje srpski "vojnici" ubijaju i srpsku i hrvatsku i djecu iz mješovitih brakova.

Danas i sutra su dani odmora i u Srbiji i u Evropi. Beogradska televizija neće emitovati snimke ubijenih, malih Sarajlija. Evropske televizijske stanice će cenzurisati ove užasne snimke da ne bi pokvarili vikend svom gledateljstvu.

Evropska i svjetska diplomatska đubrad se danas sa svojom djecom skijaju po evropskim planinama. Djeca u Srbiji i Evropi danas ne znaju da su njihovi očevi zločinci.

Mi smo od danas siromašniji za šest malih ljiljana.

Mi smo od danas šest puta tužniji nego juče.

Mi od danas moramo biti šest puta jači.











1 February 1994 NEWS TVBIH

As in life, so must this programme go on, despite everything, and whatever the cost.

After tears, laughter. Benjamin Filipović's film Mizaldo is the first Bosnian war film. This film will represent our country at the Berlin film festival, the second most important film festival in the world.

MIZALDO, read backwards, means ODLAZIM /I am leaving/.

This is a way of saying that those who have left, have left their hearts and souls in this city.



O1. februar 1994.

Kao i u životu tako i u ovoj emisiji uprkos svemu i po svaku cijenu moramo ići naprijed.

Nakon suza došao i smijeh. Film "Mizaldo" Benjamina Filipovića je prvi bosanski ratni igrani film. Na drugom po značaju svjetskom filmskom festivalu, Berlinskom, ovaj film će predstavljati našu zemlju.

Mizaldo, čitano od straga, znači odlazim.

U suštini znači da i oni koji su otišli odavde dušom žive u ovom gradu.



4 February 1994 NEWS TVBIH

LIVE in the studio is Dr. Zvonimir Šeparović, former Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Hadžifejzović: Our guest tonight in the TV Bosnia and Herzegovina studio is Professor Dr Zvonimir Separović, former dean of the Law Faculty and Rector of Zagreb University. From 1991 to 1992 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

You are in Sarajevo for the session of the Assembly of Bosnian Croats. Is it your intention, in coming here, to rectify anything as regards Croatia's policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Separović: . . . Croatia inevitably has an interest in the Croat element of the Bosnian population. This doesn't mean interference in the internal affairs of another country. We are aware that these are two different countries. . . The current policy of the Croatian leadership regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina is unhealthy and regrettable.

Any attempt to break up Bosnia and Herzegovina is dangerous and has no basis in history. We learn from history that Bosnia lived in unity, as a single community. Invaders came and went, but the Croats and Muslims, and later the Serbs who 'mmigrated, lived in this region more or less without conflict. What has been happening now is irrat'onal, a return to prehistory; in fact it's genocide, but regrettably almost everyone has in effect accepted it. Everyone has opted for ethnic cleansing of what they regard as exclusively 'their' territory. And this followed constant pressure from Cutileiro, Vance, Owen and Stoltenberg /international peace mediators/ to the effect that the only solution was partition.

Hadžifejzović: Mr Šeparović, I must interrupt you here! As Bosnian and Herzegovinians, we are extremely sensitive to this business of equating everyone.

You said that everyone wants to resolve the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina by means of genocide?

Šeparović: You may well be sensitive. . . Unfortunately, atrocities are being perpetrated against every-

If 't is true that the Muslims are being driven from their homes, which is the over-riding truth, and that the Serbs began it, it is also true that a large number of Croats have fled their homes, primarily fleeing from the Serbs. There are hundreds of thousands of them crossing the borders at present.

Unfortunately, there are atrocities on all sides, ethnic cleansing on all sides.





(UŽIVO) Dr. Zvonimir Šeparović, bivši ministar vanjskih poslova Hrvatske

Hadžifejzović: Gost TVBiH je profesor doktor Zvonimir Šeparović, bivši dekan Pravnog fakulteta, rektor Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Bio je ministar vanjskih poslova Republike Hrvatske 1991.–1992. godine...

U Sarajevu ste i povodom održavanja Sabora bosanskih Hrvata. Da li ovim dolaskom želite nešto ispraviti u hrvatskoj politici u odnosu na BiH?

Šeparović: ...Hrvatska mora imati interes za hrvatski dio bosanskog naroda. To nije miješanje u unutrašnje poslove druge zemlje. Mi znamo da su to dvije zemlje... Sadašnja politika hrvatskog vodstva prema Bosni i Hercegovini nije zdrava i nije dobra.

Svi pokušaji razbijanja Bosne i Hercegovine su opasni i povijesno neutemeljeni. Povijest govori da je Bosna živjela kao cjelina. Osvajači su dolazili, prolazili ali su Hrvati i Muslimani, poslije su došli i Srbi, živjeli na tom prostoru, više-manje bez konflikta. Ovo što se sada dogodilo je apsolutno iracionalno, to je povratak u pretpovijest, to je, zapravo, genocid kojeg su, nažalost, praktički prihvatili svi.

Svi se odlučuju na čišćenje svojih prostora, misleći da su to isključivo njihovi prostori. Nakon što su Kutiljero, Vens, Owen, Stoltenberg /mirovni posrednici, op.a/ stalno vršili pritisak kako to na koncu treba podijeliti...

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine Šeparoviću, intervenišem! Mi smo kao Bosanci i Hercegovci, prilično osjetljivi na izjednačavanje.

Rekoste, da svi hoće genocidom da riješe situaciju u Bosni i Hercegovini?

Šeparović: Možete da budete osjetljivi... Nažalost, zločini se dešavaju svima. Ako je istina da se Muslimane protjeruje, a to je dominantna istina, to su počeli Srbi, istina je da je veliki broj Hrvata pobjegao sa svojih ognjišta, najprije pred Srbima. Sada odlaze u stotinama tisuća preko granice.

Nažalost, zločina ima na svim stranama, čišćenja ima na svim stranama.





4 February 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Last night President Izetbegović named Croatian President Tuđman as the person wno is principally to blame for the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Šeparović: This was said by a politician who knows the person he was speaking of very well. They are partners, in effect unsuccessful ones.

There is a great deal of dissatisfaction in Croatia itself with Croatia's Bosnian policy.

Hadžifejzović: What is your own attitude, as a former minister of the state of which Tudman is president?

Separović: I'm not a member of the Government any more. I am convinced that it is impossible to partition Bosnia and Herzegovina. . .

5 February 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Note:

I was on duty today.

I was editing the News.

News came in of the worst massacre in Sarajevo of the entire war, in the Markale /open/ market.

I looked at the footage of the massacre.

I was in tears, as were my colleagues.

I couldn't do my job.

I gave up.

I couldn't bear it any more. . .









04. februar 1994. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Kao glavnog krivca za podjelu Bosne i Hercegovine, predsjednik Izetbegović sinoć je naveo hrvatskog predsjednika Tudmana.

Šeparović: To je izjavio političar koji se dobro zna sa ovim drugim.

Oni su partneri, praktično bez uspjeha.

lma dosta nezadovoljstva u samoj Hrvatskoj zbog hrvatske politike prema Bosni.

Hadžifejzović: Kakav je Vaš odnos kao bivšeg ministra države čiji je predsjednik gospodin Tudman?

Šeparović: Ja više u toj vladi nisam. Uvjeren sam da je nemoguće dijeliti BiH...

05. februar 1994. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Napomena:

Danas sam bio u smjeni.

Uredivao sam Dnevnik.

Došla je informacija da se na pijaci "Markale" desio najveći masakr u toku cijelog rata u Sarajevu.

Pogledao sam snimke masakra. Plakao kao i moje kolege.

Nisam mogao da radim. Odustao sam.

Nisam više mogao da podnesem...









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I couldn't do my job. I gave up. I couldn't bear it any more. . .

8 February 1994

NEWS TVBIH

UNPROFOR has issued an official statement that can only be seen as the crowning evidence relating to the Markale massacre: on that tragic February 5, the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not fire a single shell, whereas the enemy fired forty.

Not even this fact is enough to put a stop to the hostile propaganda that is killing the sixty-eight massacred Sarajevans all over again with its outrageous falsehoods.

The Bosnia and Herzegovina media cannot allow themselves the perverse luxury of becoming part of such a propaganda crime by polemicizing and arguing the point.

At this painful time, these people, by whom I mean Sarajevans, must not let themselves equate the entire Serb people and the Serbs, or those of Orthodox faith, of Sarajevo with the perpetrators of such atrocities.

9 February 1994

NEWS TVBIH

PUBLIC OPINION POLL in Sarajevo following the NATO ultimatum.

We have just received news that NATO has decided to set an ultimatum for the withdrawal of the artillery around Sarajevo. If the heavy weapons are not withdrawn, there will be NATO Alliance air strikes.

Will there be NATO air strikes on Serb positions?

First man: I don't think so, even though I'd like to see it happen. Second man: I'm not convinced. I don't believe in 't either.

First woman: It never happens! So it ought to happen now!

Third man: I don't believe it now, either. They made promises, they've talked about it, but they've never delivered.

Second woman: Nothing will come of it. It's the same every time, they drag things out, as though to make sure the right decision becomes redundant, they drag these things on. I do not see any way out, in fact!









08. februar 1994.

UNPROFOR je zvanično objavio, što se nikako drugačije ne može posmatrati nego kao krunski dokaz vezan za masakr na Markalama, da tragičnog petog februara Armija Bosne i Hercegovine nije ispalila ni jednu granatu, dok je agresorska strana ispalila četrdeset.

Ni ovakav podatak ne spriječava agresorsku propagandu da nevjerovatno morbidnim lažima, iznova, ubija već ubijenih 68 Sarajlija.

Bosanskohercegovačka sredstva informisanja sebi ne mogu dozvoliti tako morbidan luksuz da se polemikom i diskusijom upuste u jedan takav propagandni zločin.

Ovi ljudi, na Sarajlije mislim, u ovako teškom momentu, ne smiju sebi dopustiti da zločince poistovijete sa cijelim srpskim narodom i Sarajlijama srpske nacionalnosti ili pravoslavne vjeroispovijesti...

09. februar 1994.

Anketa među građanima Sarajeva nakon ultimatuma NATO-a.

Upravo smo primili vijest da je NATO odlučio da ultimatumom ukloni artiljerijsko oruđe oko Sarajeva! U protivnom slijede vazdušni udari NATO-a!

Hoće li biti zračnih udara NATO-a na srpske položaje?

Građanin XY: Ne verujem iako bih ja voleo da se to tako "preseče".

Građanin YX: Nisam ubijeđen. Ne vjerujem ni ja.

Građanka XY: Nikad ne bude! Onda sad treba da bude!

Građanin XX: Ne vjerujem ni ovaj put. Obećali su, govorili i nikad učinili.

Građanka YX: Od toga nema ništa. Uvijek se nešto razvuče, kad treba prava odluka da "padne", odugovlače. Ja ne vidim izlaza, zapravo, nikakvog!









12 February 1994

NEWS TVBIH

The spectacle of the day is the opening of the Winter O ympics in Lillehammer, Norway.

But the people of the world couldn't even watch that without seeing not only the tragedy of Sarajevo, but also the pride of Sarajevo.

The flag of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is flying in this little town, too.

The President of the International Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch, dedicated the opening of the Games to Sarajevo.

Official Announcer, Lillehammer: Welcome Bosnia and Herzegovina!

Juan Antonio Samaranch, IOC President:

Ten years ago we were in Sarajevo for the Winter Olympics.

Then, the city was devoted to sport, understanding, friendship and peace!

In Sarajevo whose citizens have suffered so much.

I appeal to everyone, not only those of you who are in the stadium but all around the world in your own countries TO RISE and stand for a minute's silence in honour of the City of Sarajevo.









Spektakl dana je otvaranje Zimskih olimpijskih igara u Lilehameru u Norveškoj.

No, svijet nije mogao glavu okrenuti ni na tu stranu a da ne vidi sarajevsku tragediju, ali i sarajevski ponos.

Zastava Republike Bosne i Hercegovine zaviorila se i u ovom malom gradu.

Predsjednik Međunarodnog olimpijskog komiteta Huan Antonio Samaran, otvaranje igara posvetio je Sarajevu.

Oficijelni spiker, Lilehamer: Dobro došla Bosno i Hercegovino!!!

Huan Antonio Samaran, predsjednik MOK-a:

Prije deset godina bili smo u Sarajevu na Olimpijskim igrama.

Grad je tada bio posvećen sportu, razumijevanju, prijateljstvu i miru!

U Sarajevu čiji su stanovnici mnogo propatili.

Pozivam sve, ne samo vas na stadionu već svugdje u svijetu vas koji ste u svojim domovima da ustanete i minutom šutnje odate počast gradu Sarajevu.









13 February 1994

NEWS TVBIH

At the Olympics at Lillehammer, in Norway, people are ski-jumping, bob-sleighing, skiing and skating.

Let's see what happens to this town in ten years' time...



2 May 1994 NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Let's look back two years, to the second of May 1992.

We will leave it to history to judge the significance of the defence of the city of Sarajevo on that second of May 1992.

We cannot exaggerate, though, the indisputable fact that a few dozen brave young men prevented a coup d'etat or a classic military coup.

It's interesting that, unlike last year, this year the state authorities have had nothing to say about this anniversary.

Here is what Senad Avdić, Editor in chief of the weekly magazine Bosna, says about this.

Senad Avdić, Editor in chief of the weekly magazine /Slobodna/ Bosna:

On this very spot, on the second of May 1992, the future and the destiny of Bosnia and Herzegovina was decided, in the presence of the editor of this evening's TV Bosnia and Herzegovina News.

If things had turned out as Belgrade planned, the editor of this evening's News would probably be someone from Pale, and there would be celebrations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina of the second anniversary of the restoration of this ex-Yugoslav Republic to ex-Yugoslavia and of the overthrow of Alija Izetbegović's 'anti-national and secessionist regime'...

13. februar 1994.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

U Lilehameru u Norveškoj na Olimpijskim igrama danas se skakalo, sankalo, skijalo i klizalo.

Vidjećemo šta će se desiti ovom gradu za deset godina...



O2. maj 1994.

Hadžifejzović: Vraćamo se dvije godine unazad u drugi maj 1992. godine.

Ostavićemo istoriji da procijeni značaj odbrane grada Sarajeva koja se desila drugog maja 1992. godine.

Ono u čemu ne možemo pretjerati jeste nepobitna činjenica da nekoliko desetina hrabrih momaka spriječava izvršavanje klasičnog državnog ili vojnog udara.

Zanimljivo, ali državni organi, za razliku od prošle godine, danas se nisu oglasili u povodu ove godišnjice.

Bilješka Senada Avdića, glavnog i odgovornog urednika nedjeljnika "Bosna"

Senad Avdić, glavni i odgovorni urednik nedjeljnika "Slobodna Bosna":

Drugog maja 1992. godine na istom ovom mjestu, u nazočnosti večerašnjeg urednika Dnevnika Televizije BiH, rješavala se budućnost i sudbina Bosne i Hercegovine.

Da su se događaji odvijali onako kako je to Beograd planirao, vjerovatno bi večerašnji urednik Dnevnika bio neko sa Pala, a u cijeloj Bosni i Hercegovini bila bi svečano obilježena dvogodišnjica povratka ove bivše jugoslovenske republike u bivšu Jugoslaviju i svrgavanje "nenarodnog i secesionističkog režima Alije Izetbegovića"...

2 May 1994

A 'celebratory rally' might be taking place today in Kozara, at which the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fikret Abdić, and the Prime Minister of the National Parliament, Momčilo Krajišnik, would give speeches.

However, as with much else planned by Belgrade's dictatorial regime, the coup d'etat scheduled for 2 May 1992 never took place.

Even though everything had been meticulously planned.

The Yugoslav Federal Army, which its Commanding Officer for Bosnia and Herzegovina, General Milutin Kukanjac, described as 'the only /Army/ not firing on Sarajevo', decided to show its true face on the second of May.

That was the day when Sarajevo came under bombardment for the first time since the outbreak of war, shelled as it was supposed to be by Serb 'standards' and as it remained under sustained bombardment for months.

JNA Headquarters claimed that the JNA had been 'viciously attacked' and that it had resolved to defend itself by all available means: the Youth Hostel in Skenderija was burned down, the Emergency First Aid Centre in Malta /an inner surburb of Sarajevo/ was targeted, the Presidency building and the City Council building were in flames. Even the Post Office on Obala /the river embankment/ was on fire, its interior destroyed by dynamite.

The JNA was moving in on the Presidency building from the direction of Vraca with four tanks, in what was described as a counter-attack.

And from the Nedžarići direction, towards the Bosnia and Herzegovina Television Centre.

When they were about fifty metres from the Presidential building, the hero'c defenders of Sarajevo wiped out the assailants' armoured vehicles. The Nedžarići convoy beat a panic-stricken retreat after the defenders fired a few 'zolja' missiles.

The first part of the plan, which was to seize the Presidency building /and probably to kill all the 'secessionists' they could find there/ and then to give 'good reasons' on Bosnia and Herzegovina Television, which was already to have been taken, was a complete failure.

President Alija Izetbegović was not in his office. He was soon to arrive from Lisbon, however, where talks were being held on the Carrington-Cutileiro plan for Bosnia. The President was accompanied by a representative of the combined Bosnian opposition, Dr. Zlatko Lagumdžija, and an escort.

Lord Carrington had given his personal assurance of their aircraft's security. First, however, attempts were made to force it to land in Belgrade, before it finally landed at Butmir /Sarajevo airport/.

Milošević, in Belgrade, was told: 'The bird has landed'.

Several JNA generals were there to 'welcome' President Izetbegović and take him to Lukavica, where General Milutin Kukanjac was supposed y waiting for him.

While all this was going on, a car carrying Presidency member Fikret Abdić was speeding towards Sarajevo from Split. In /the Sarajevo outer suburb/ of Ilidža, the Chief of the Serb Police, Tomo Kovač, personally wished Abdić a safe journey. Abdić's car drew up outside the Bosnia and Herzegov'na









Možda bi na Kozari danas bio održan "veličanstveni miting" na kojem bi govorili predsjednik Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine Fikret Abdić i predsjednik Narodne skupštine Bosne i Hercegovine Momčilo Krajišnik.

Ali kao i mnogo šta drugo što je beogradski diktatorski režim planirao, tako se nije realizovao državni udar planiran za 2. 5. 1992.

A sve je bilo detaljno isplanirano,

Jugoslovenska narodna armija, za koju njen bh. komandant, general Milutin Kukanjac tog momenta tvrdi da "jedino ona ne puca na Sarajevo", drugog maja odlučuje da skloni sve maske sa sebe.

Toga dana Sarajevo je prvi put od početka agresije bombardovano onako kako po srpskim "standardima" i treba da bude i kako je bilo bombardovano mjesecima nakon toga.

JNA je, tvrdi njen štab, "brutalno napadnuta" i odlučuje da se brani svim sredstvima: zapaljen je Dom mladih na Skenderiji, gada se Hitna pomoć na Malti, gori zgrada Predsjedništva, Skupštine grada, gori Pošta na Obali. Ona je iznutra uništena, dinamitom.

JNA iz pravca Vraca kreće sa četiri tenka u "kontranapad" na zgradu Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine.

Iz pravca Nedžarića prema zgradi Televizije Bosne i Hercegovine.

Na pedesetak metara od Predsjedništva herojski branioci Sarajeva uništavaju agresorske oklopnjake, a kolona iz Nedžarića nakon nekoliko ispaljenih "zolja" branilaca, povlači se panično.

Prvi dio plana po kojem je trebalo zauzeti Predsjedništvo /i vjerovatno pobiti sve prisutne "secesioniste"/ a sve to "argumentovano" objasniti na već osvojenoj Televiziji BiH - je propao.

U Predsjedništvu nema njegovog šefa Alije Izetbegovića, Ali, samo što nije stigao iz Lisabona sa pregovora o Karington-Kutiljerovom planu o Bosni. S njim je i predstavnik udružene bosanske opozicije dr. Zlatko Lagumdžija i pratnja.

Njihov avion, kojem je osobno lord Karington garantirao bezbjednost, najprije pokušava biti natjeran da sleti u Beograd, a onda ipak slijeće na Butmir.

"Ptica je sletjela", javljeno je tada Miloševiću u Beograd.

Nekoliko generala JNA "dočekuju" predsjednika Izetbegovića i vode ga u Lukavicu gdje ga, navodno, treba čekati general Milutin Kukanjac.

Dok se sve to dešava, automobil koji vozi člana Predsjedništva BiH Fikreta Abdića juri iz Splita prema Sarajevu. Na Ilidži Abdiću sretan put želi osobno šef srpske policije Tomo Kovač. Abdićev automobil se zaustavlja pred zgradom Televizije Bosne i Hercegovine, a on odlazi u studio u koji ga niko nije pozvao!

U zgradi Predsjedništva vlada konfuzija, što zbog granata koje padaju, što zbog blizine tenkova, što zbog tvrdnji ministra policije Alije Delimustafića "da se Bosna ne bi smjela žrtvovati zbog jednog čovjeka makar on bio i predsjednik države"!









2 May 1994 NEWS TVBIH

Television Centre, and he went into the studio uninvited.

Confusion reigned inside the Presidency building, due to the bombardment, the proximity of the tanks, and the statements of the Minister of the Interior, Alija Delimustafić, who said that 'Bosnia shouldn't sacrify itself because of one single man, even if he is the President of the country!

Delimustafić called for Fikret Abdić to stand in for the President, who was being held prisoner. The Deputy Prime Minister, Rusmir Mahmutčehajić, said that this was in fact a call for a coup d'etat in collaboration with the Yugoslav Army.

While President Izetbegović was calling from Lukavica, and General Durđevac was issuing orders to stop firing, Abdić, with a ready-prepared speech in which he 'confirmed that Bosnia and Herzegovina would remain part of Yugoslavia, with himself as its Presidential leader', was given a 'band-aid' in the Bosnia and Herzegovina Television studio, in the person of Jerko Doko, the Minister of Defence. Doko had instructions from the Presidency to use all available means to prevent Abdić from addressing the nation as its new leader who, need it be said, 'enjoyed the confidence' of all the parties to the conflict, and especially of the JNA.

However, the Greater Serbia strategists had /failed to/ take into account just one thing, which was enough to save the entire affair. They overlooked the defenders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, wno had already laid plans to surround the Headquarters of the Second Army Region, where its commanding officer General Kukanjac was located.

... From that point on, Milosević realized that Bosnia and Herzegovina could be conquered only by military action. This is why he has sacrificed one hundred thousand Serb soldiers during these past two years, but is still far from achieving his goal, although he missed it then by a whisker only. . .

Exactly two years ago today, when 'the bird was in the cage', and the 'Agrokomerc turkey' (as they called Abdić was ready to announce to the nation, on Bosnia and Herzegovina Television, that Bosnia and Herzegovina was done for and that there was no country better than Yugoslavia...

Hadžifejzović: So on that second of May 1992, the assailants failed to enter the Presidency building, failed even to enter Sarajevo, despite their tanks.

Now, though, our people must know that as a result of 'political acrobatics' there are many people who are going to enter this City who until recently were unable to do so even with ten well-oganized military coups.



Delimustafić traži da uhapšenog predsjednika mijenja Fikret Abdić, a tadašnji potpredsjednik Vlade Rusmir Mahmutčehajić da je taj zahtjev zapravo zahtjev za državnim udarom u saradnji sa Jugoslovenskom armijom.

l dok se predsjednik lzetbegović javlja iz Lukavice, a general Đurđevac naređuje obustavu vatre, Abdić sa već spremljenim govorom u kojem "potvrđuje da će BiH ostati u Jugoslaviji sa njim kao predsjednikom na čelu", dobija "flastera" u studiju Televizije BiH – ministra odbrane Jerku Doku. Doko ima instrukcije iz Predsjedništva" da upotrijebi sva raspoloživa sredstva u onemogućavanju Abdića da se obrati naciji kao novi šef države koji, naravno, "uživa poverenje" svih strana u sukobu, a osobito JNA.

Ali, velikosrpski stratezi samo su jednu stvar previdjeli, i to je bilo dovoljno da se cijela stvar spasi. Previdjeli su da postoje branioci Bosne i Hercegovine. Oni su ranije planirali opkoljavanje Komande Druge armijske oblasti u kojoj se nalazi njen komandant general Kukanjac...

...0d tog trenutka Milošević je svjestan da Bosnu i Hercegovinu može osvojiti samo vojničkim putem. Zato je u ove dvije godine žrtvovao sto hiljada srpskih vojnika ali cilj još ni izbliza nije postigao. A samo mu je malo nedostajalo...

Tačno na današnji dan prije dvije godine, kada je "ptica bila u kavezu", a "Agrokomercov puran" bio spreman da saopšti naciji putem Televizije BiH da je sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom gotovo i da nema bolje države od Jugoslavije....

Hadžifejzović: Agresor, dakle, tog drugog maja 1992. godine, ni pomoću tenkova nije uspio ući u Predsjedništvo i Sarajevo.

No, naš narod mora znati da će u skladu sa "političkim vratolomijama" u ovaj grad ući mnogi ljudi koji, koliko do juče, to nisu mogli uraditi ni sa deset dobro organizovanih državnih, vojnih udara.



23 May 1994.

NEWS TVBIH

The President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina speaks on the News by telephone from Paris

Hadžifejzović: We journalists, our colleagues from Oslobođenje, on the Radio and from /BH/ Television, have been kicking up quite a lot of dust here, for val'd reasons in my view, about the comeback of that pair, David Owen and Torvald Sto tenberg.

They've arranged a meeting with all the 'interested parties' somewhere in the south of France, How do you see the comeback of these two politicians who really did all they could over the past year and more to back the Serb side.

Izetbegović: Yes. . . I heard that a lot of dust was raised here, and for good reasons, certainly. . . It's widely known that they did us no good, that they stood for positions that were against the interests of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but so skilfully, sad to say, that it was hard to play the same game with them.

We have sent a letter about Akashi /Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General/, calling for his resignation. We've more than once refused to see him.

I don't know how far they will take our views on this into consideration.

Hadžifejzović: What are your expectations, after two and a half years of negotiations? What outcome do you expect, in both military and political terms?

Izetbegović: Unfortunately I can't say that I have any great expectations.

Maybe I'm just frustrated by the failure of the negotiations so far.

Perhaps my assessment of the situation is flawed, but I must be honest and say that I'm not hopeful, particularly since the Contact Group has come up again with this 51:49 ratio /51% of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Federation and 49% to Republika Srpska/.

Clearly we cannot concede territory of ours that has been occupied and ethnically cleansed to others. This is non-negotiable.

Hadžifejzović: What does this mean? What does 'not conceding territory' mean when the policy is to subject the Government and the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina to unprecedented pressure to accept at any cost the Contact Group agreement which would in effect partition the country, fifty fifty.

Izetbegović: My fear is that it means the war will continue, for which it's not we who will be to blame but those who gave us no choice.

We are for peace, but a just peace; and what's on offer is not a just peace. I am not optimistic.

Hadžifejzović: So this means that the world is propelling us into war?

Izetbegović: Well, regardless of what the world wants, objectively speaking, yes, they are pushing us in that direction.

We have set out what we regard as the bottom line.

They, though, are still calling on us to make yet more concess ons.

We cannot make any more concessions.

Telefonsko javljanje u program predsjednika Predsjedništva BiH iz Pariza.

Hadžifejzović: Prilično smo prašine digli ovdje, čini mi se sa puno opravdanja, mi novinari, kolege iz "Oslobođenja", Radija i sa Televizije, oko povratka "dvojca" David Owen-Torvald Stoltenberg.
Oni su naime zakazali sastanak svih "zainteresovanih strana" negdje u južnoj Francuskoj.
Kakav je Vaš odnos prema povratku ove dvojice političara koji su zaista u proteklih, više od godinu dana, učinili sve da bi na neki način stali na srpsku stranu?

Izetbegović: Jah... čuo sam da se digla velika prašina kod nas i sa razlogom, svakako... Zna se da nam nikakvo dobro nisu donijeli, da su zastupali stavove koji su bili protiv interesa Bosne i Hercegovine, nažalost na jedan tako vješt način da je teško bilo igrat tu igru sa njima.

Mi smo poslali pismo oko Akašija /izaslanik Generalnog sekretara UN-a, op.a/ i zahtijevali njegovu ostavku... Mi smo u dva, tri navrata odbili da ga primimo...

Ne znam koliko nas u tom pogledu uvažavaju.

Hadžifejzović: Šta očekujete nakon dvije i po godine pregovora? Kakav rasplet očekujete i na vojnom i na političkom planu?

Izetbegović: Nažalost, ne mogu reći da očekujem mnogo.

Možda sam isfrustriran neuspjehom dosadašnjih pregovora.

Može bit da u ovom momentu krivo procjenjujem stvari, ali moram biti iskren i kazati da ne očekujem mnogo, pogotovu što Kontakt grupa ponavlja onaj procenat 51:49 /Federacija : Republika Srpska, op.a./.

Mi, jasno, ne možemo naše teritorije koje su bile okupirane i koje su bile žrtve etničkog čišćenja prepustiti drugima. To je imperativ.

Hadžifejzović: Šta to znači? Šta znači "neprepuštanje teritorija" u jednom političkom odnosu u kojem se vrši neviđen pritisak na bh. Vladu i Predsjedništvo da po svaku cijenu pristane na dogovor Kontakt grupe po kojem bi se država, faktički, podijelila pola-pola.

Izetbegović: Bojim se da to znači nastavak rata, ali ne našom krivicom, nego krivicom onih koji nam nisu dali izbor.

Mi smo za mir, ali za pravedan mir, a ovo što nam se nudi nije pravi mir. Nisam optimista.

Hadžifejzović: To znači da nas svijet gura u rat?

Izetbegović: Pa, bez obzira na to šta svijet hoće, on nas objektivno gura u tom pravcu.

Mi smo definisali /naše/ stavove na donjoj granici minimuma.

Oni od nas traže dalje odstupanje, koncesije.

Dalje koncesije ne možemo činiti.

23 May 1994 NEWS TVBiH



29 May 1994 NEWS TVBIH

LIVE IN THE STUDIO is **Mariofil Ljubić**, the first Speaker of the Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Hadžifejzović: The Constituent Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina will hold a session tomorrow in Sarajevo. Our guest on the News is Mariofil Ljubić, Speaker of the Parliament.

Earlier on, we heard that the President of Croatia, Tuđman, has described the Washington agreement as 'an absolute guarantee of the interests of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina'.

As well as being carefully 'timed', is this message also intended for the Croat Deputies?

Ljubić: I believe this to be the stance of the leadership of the Republic of Croatia. In my view the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina guarantees equal rights.

Hadžifejzović: It's no surprise that there are considerable differences between the various nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in ex-Yugoslavia. And it's the same internally with the Croats, where there are two schools of thought, one moderate and the other more belligerent.



29. maj 1994. DNEVNIK TVBIH

(UŽIVO) Mariofil Ljubić, prvi predsjednik Skupštine Federacije BiH

Hadžifejzović: Sutra se u Sarajevu održava sjednica Ustavotvorne Skupštine Federacije BiH. Gost Dnevnika je Mariofil Ljubić, predsjednik Skupštine.

Čuli smo maloprije da je predsjednik Hrvatske, Tuđman, izjavio da je Vašingtonski sporazum "apsolutna garancija interesima hrvatskog naroda u Bosni i Hercegovini".

Da li je ova izjava, osim što je "tempirana" i poruka hrvatskim poslanicima?

Ljubić: Mislim da je to opredijeljenost vrhovništva Republike Hrvatske. Mislim da Ustav Federacije BiH garantira ravnopravnost.

Hadžifejzović: Nije nikakvo čudo da u nacionalnim korpusima u BiH i prostorima bivše Jugoslavije postoji dosta razlika, pa tako i u hrvatskom korpusu gdje postoje dvije "struje" - jedna umjerenija, druga ratobornija.





29 May 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Ljubić: There have been certain differences, although I hope they won't be major ones, because the Federation is in everyone's interests.

It's only natural for there to be different interests. The interests of people in Central Bosnia, Herzegovina, Posavina differ. . .

Hadžifejzović: Posavina, that is the area around Orašje, Brčko, and above Gradačac, is a shining example of military and political cooperation between the Bosniacs and the Croats.

Ljubić: This is one of the finest examples where the relationship between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the HVO was not undermined. If it had been the same in other regions the situation would be completely different on the battlefield.

Hadžifejzović: Mr Speaker, you are responding easily and confidently to my questions. . . Do you sincerely believe that the Vienna and Washington agreements and future agreements are viable in practice?

Ljubić: I sincerely believe so. I am optimistic because the Army and the HVO are both led by people who have understood the spirit of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hadžifejzović: What will happen to the people who gave the orders for the /concentration/ camps in Herzegovina? What will happen to the people who have sullied their personal and their military honour in this war?

Ljubić: There are people on both sides who did not behave properly, who have committed horrible crimes. It would be unfair if not everyone who is guilty is brought to justice. . .

29 May 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Today, after two years UNPROFOR cleared Sarajevo of garbage.

For two years Sarajevo has been Hell. Now it's Purgatory.







Ljubić: Određenih razlika je bilo, ja se nadam da velikih razlika neće biti jer svima je interes Federacija.

Logično je da su interesi različiti. Različit interes je ljudi u srednjoj Bosni, ljudi u Hercegovini, ljudi u Posavini...

Hadžifejzović: Posavina, odnosno dio oko Orašja, Brčkog, više Gradačca je najsvjetliji primjer ratne i političke saradnje Bošnjaka i Hrvata.

Ljubić: To je jedan od najsvjetlijih primjera gdje nisu bili narušeni odnosi između Armije BiH i HVO-a. Da je bilo u drugim dijelovima tako, sasvim drugačija situacija bi bila na ratištima.

Hadžifejzović: Gospodine predsjedniče, lagano odgovarate na pitanja, samouvjereno... Da li iskreno vjerujete da se Bečki, Vašingtonski i sutrašnji dogovori mogu zaista provesti u djelo?

Ljubić: Iskreno, vjerujem. Optimista sam jer na čelu Armije i HVO-a imamo ljude koji su shvatili duh života u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Hadžifejzović: Šta će biti sa ljudima koji su dali nalog za otvaranje logora u Hercegovini? Šta će biti sa ljudima koji su ljudsku i oficirsku čast uprljali u ovom ratu?

Ljubić: l na jednoj i na drugoj strani bilo je ljudi koji se nisu ponašali korektno, koji su počinili strašne zločine. Ne bi bilo pravedno kada svi oni koji su krivi za nešto ne bi odgovarali...

29. maj 1994.

Danas je UNPROFOR nakon dvije godine čistio Sarajevo od smeća.

Sarajevo je dvije godine bilo Pakao Sada je Čistilište.





1 June 1994 NEWS TVBIH

We are broadcasting this report on the death of Marijo Osadčij /1975-1992/, a combatant of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the very beginning of this News to draw to your attention the situation of combatants of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the families of those who have been killed.

Those who should be dealing with this should not be diverted by the continuing negotiations, the false armistice in Sarajevo, or by the drop in prices in the markets. Nor even by this beautiful weather.

The war is still going on, and all our attention should be given to those who already spent more than two years on our defensive front lines without a break.

Now you may watch the News.

1 June 1994 NEWS TVBiH

The parliamentary sessions /of the Federation and Republic Parliaments/ have just ended in Sarajevo.

Hanging like the sword of Damocles over all the political agreements reached concerning the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the question of implementation.

During the next six months, everything must be done to heal at least some of the wounds of the Croat–Muslim war.

Much good faith will have to be shown on the ground, and above all, sincerity.

It is no exaggeration to say that, from our perspective, six months is not enough for all this 'work'.

Mostar is a place where good will must be shown on both sides. Mostar is therefore the test of our mutual confidence.









O1. juni 1994.

Emitovanjem priloga o poginulom borcu Mariju Osadčiju /1975-1992./, borcu Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, na samom početku Dnevnika želimo skrenuti pažnju na položaj boraca i porodica poginulih boraca Armije BiH.

One, koji bi o tome trebalo da se staraju ne smije zavarati ni nastavak pregovora, ni lažno sarajevsko primirje, ni snižene cijene na pijacama. Pa, ni lijepo vrijeme.

Rat još uveliko traje i sva naša pažnja mora biti usmjerena prema onima koji već više od dvije godine, bez zamjene, stoje na prvim linijama naše odbrane.

Sada možete pogledati Dnevnik.

O1. juni 1994.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

U Sarajevu su završeni parlamentarni dani /Federalne i Republičke Skupštine/

Ono što, kao Damaklov mač, stoji iznad svih postignutih političkih dogovora o Federaciji BiH zove se - implementacija.

U narednih šest mjeseci treba učiniti sve da se zaliječe makar neke rane hrvatsko-muslimaskog rata.

Treba pokazati mnogo volje na terenu i još više iskrenosti.

Nećemo pretjerati ako iz ove perspektive kažemo da je za sav taj "posao" šest mjeseci - premalo.

Mostar je to mjesto gdje se obostrana dobra volja mora pokazati. Mostar je, dakle, taj test međusobnog povjerenja.









1 June 1994

NEWS TVBIH

'Serbs have the right to live anywhere in the Federation, but at the same time, they have no right to live on their own, for example in Foča' said Dr.Neđo Milićević today.

'We don't deserve to be the Palestinians of our own country of Bosnia and Herzegovina' declared Dr.Mirko Pejanović.

This is what leaders of the Serb Civic Council said to US Ambassador Victor Jakovich.

4 June 1994

NEWS TVBIH

'The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be determined by the human factor, after all' a general in the Yugoslav Army who, for understandable reasons, wishes to remain anonymous, told the Belgrade correspondent of the Montenegrin independent weekly magazine Monitor.

'The Bosnians are psychologically superior. They sense that they can win victory over their adversary. They are fighting for a just cause, and they have the backing of the public world-wide.

They have suffered a great injustice, they have been the targets of the most virulent hatred, and they know that the principles they are fighting for are noble.'

The general quotes British General Michael Rose, Commander of the UN Forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as saying:

'No other infantry in the world could have done what the Bosnian infantry have done so far.'

7 June 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Two years of Sarajevo families living apart, unable to make contact, and a touch of jealousy, have led inevitably to some Bosnian couples divorcing in the circumstances of war.

There are currently more than two hundred and eighty applications for divorce awaiting a decision in the courts of Sarajevo.

It has never been easier either to get married or to get a divorce in this city.









O1. juni 1994.

"Srbi imaju pravo da žive na cijeloj teritoriji Federacije, ali isto tako nemaju pravo da sami žive, recimo u Foči" rekao je danas dr. Neđo Milićević

"Ničim nismo zaslužili da budemo Palestinci u svojoj zemlji Bosni i Hercegovini" izjavio je dr. Mirko Pejanović.

Ovo su prvi ljudi Srpskog građanskog vijeća rekli američkom ambasadoru Viktoru Jakoviču.

04. juni 1994.

"Rat u Bosni i Hercegovini ipak će odlučiti ljudski faktor", rekao je beogradskom dopisniku crnogorskog nezavisnog nedjeljnika "Monitor" jedan general Vojske Jugoslavije koji je, iz razumljivih razloga, želio da ostane anoniman.

"Bosanci su psihološki superiorniji. Oni su osetili da mogu poraziti protivnika. Bore se za ispravnu stvar i u tome ih podržava čitava svetska javnost. Učinjena im je nepravda, bili su meta najprimitivnije mržnje i oni znaju da su na braniku uzvišenih principa".

Ovaj general citira britanskog generala Majkla Rouza, komandanta UN-a u BiH, koji je rekao: "Ono što je do sada uradila bosanska pešadija ne bi uspelo ni jednoj drugoj pešadiji u svetu".

07. juni 1994.

Dvogodišnja razdvojenost sarajevskih porodica, nemogućnost komuniciranja, malo ljubomore, doveli su do toga da je u ratnim okolnostima došlo do neminovnih razvoda bosanskih brakova.

Trenutno, na sarajevskim sudovima preko 280 zahtjeva za razvod braka čeka na rješenje.

U ovom gradu se nikada lakše nije moglo ni oženiti, ni razvesti.









7 June 1994 NEWS TVBIH

The humanitarian situation in Sarajevo has changed so much /for the better/ that it is not uncommon now to see heaps of potatoes rotting on garbage heaps while the bosses wait for better prices.

The city is now pretty well fed, but we shouldn't forget that Bosnia is still starving.

This war has made some bad people even worse and some good people even better.

10 June 1994 NEWS TVBIH

The hot topic of the day is the decision of the US Congress to permit our country to import weapons.

Will Clinton authorize this decision?

Will he use his veto?

Will he have the courage to support and accept the decision of the members of Congress? None of this is our concern.

Let those who are afraid only of weapons, and who rate courage by them, worry about it and write about it.

The truth is that with a little decent weaponry the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina would go as far eastwards as the Serb army won't go westwards.





07. juni 1994. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Humanitarna situacija u Sarajevu toliko se promijenila /nabolje/, da sada nije rijetkost vidjeti na deponijama smeća gomile krompira koji je istruhnuo dok su gazde čekale povoljniju cijenu.

Ovaj grad je sada prilično sit, ali ne bi trebalo zaboraviti da Bosna još uvijek gladuje.

Ovaj rat je od nekih loših ljudi načinio još gore ljude, od nekih dobrih prave dobričine-ljudine.

> 10. juni 1994. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Odluka američkog Kongresa kojom se odobrava uvoz oružja u našu zemlju tema je dana.

Hoće li Klinton uvažiti ovu odluku? Hoće li uložiti veto? Hoće li biti hrabar da podrži, uvaži odluku kongresmena? Sve to nije naša briga. Neka o tome brinu i pišu komentare oni koji se samo oružja boje i koji samo kroz oružje mjere hrabrost.

lstina je u tome da bi Armija RBiH sa malo kvalitetnog naoružanja otišla toliko istočno odavde, koliko srbijanska vojska neće otići zapadno odavde.









10 June 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Senad Kamenica, journalist: There has been great interest on the part of the Turk an media and public in the arrival of Turkish soldiers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where they will be part of the L'il peace forces.

When Prime Minister Tansu Çiler reviewed the 1,600 or so so diers, it was noted that Turkey was making a significant contribution to peace in the Balkans.

Hadžifejzović: Presumably these Turks won't be staying in Bosnia for five hundred years!

13 June 1994

NEWS TVBIH

It is rare in journalism for someone to write an article about a colleague with the highest esteem and without vanity.

Maybe Oslobođenje's columnist Gojko Berić isn't comfortable with so much praise, but at least he is owed the simple homage of fellow-journalists for everything he has done.

13 June 1994

NEWS TVBIH

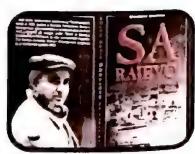
Elektroprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine /the national power supply corporation/ is still cautioning us for using too much electricity and warning that the current restrictions are not yet producing the desired results.

When the enemy is no longer destroying long distance power lines, when the fighting around our hydroelectric power stations has come to an end, the explanation we get is: 'people are using too much electricity and the reservoirs of the hydroelectric power station in Jablanica are emptying fast'.

It's curious that the electricity supply crisis is being caused by 'high consumption', given that there are no major consumers of electricity in the Republic now that we have enough gas and are not using electricity much at home.

It's even more curious that the reservoirs are emptying after four days of unusually heavy rain!





10. juni 1994.

Senad Kamenica, novinar: Turski mediji i javnost posvetili su veliku pažnju odlasku turskih vojnika u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, gdje će učestvovati u sastavu mirovnih snaga UN-a.

Prilikom smotre oko 1600 vojnika koju je izvršila premijerka Tansu Čiler, naglašeno je da je to značajan doprinos miru Turske na Balkanu.

Hadžifejzović: Valjda ovi Turci neće ostati petsto godina u Bosni?!

13. juni 1994.

Rijedak je slučaj u novinarstvu da kolega o kolegi piše sa puno uvažavanja i bez sujete.

Možda se komentatoru "Oslobođenja" Gojku Beriću ovoliko hvale i ne dopadne, ali ono što su mu novinari najmanje dužni jeste jedan obični, kolegijalni omaž za sve ono što je uradio.

13. juni 1994.

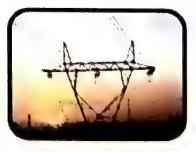
Elektroprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine i dalje nas prepada kako previše trošimo struju /građani/ i kako dosadašnje restrikcije ne daju zadovoljavajuće rezultate.

U situaciji kada agresor više ne ruši dalekovode, kada se više ne vode borbe oko hidrocentrala slijedi objašnjenje: "Kako narod troši previše struje i kako se akumulacija Hidroelektrane Jablanica intenzivno prazni!"

Čudno je da kriza u elektroenergetskom sistemu nastaje "zbog velike potrošnje" kada u Republici nema nijednog od velikih i ozbiljnijih potrošača struje, kada ima dovoljno plina pa se u domaćinstvima ne troši toliko struje.

Još čudnije je objašnjenje da se akumulacija prazni i to nakon četiri izuzetno kišovita dana!





13 June 1994 NEWS TVBIH

Our weatherman Esad Kirlić has collected data showing that between 9 and 13 June the total was 40 litres per square metre, and that it was even higher in Herzegowna!

That means, for example, that people who are lucky enough to have a garden measuring 10 ov 10 meses will have received four thousand litres of water from the heavens

So how much must have fallen on the lakes?

We look forward to Elektroprivreda's answers to these questions:

where has the water gone or where has the electricity gone?

19 June 1994 NEWS TVBIH

LIVE Emir Hadžihafizbegović, actor, author of the play A Dream of Bosnia, an excerpt

Hadžihafizbegović:

I was born in 1983, in a place called Bratunac.

Our house was not the most beautiful, but for me it was the most precious.

I still don't understand why they forced us out when it was ours.

They killed my dad. Mahira and Nejla have gone away to a country called Germany, to a city called Stuttgart,

and mum, me and Edhem are in a place called Zivinice.

We live in a school and we eat in a canteen.

There's a lady there I call auntie Refija, who likes me a lot, and every day she asks me:

'Enes, my son, what would you like?'

I say: 'Auntie Refija, I'd like mum not to cry, because when mum doesn't cry it is a happy day. I would like to dream, auntie Refija, I would like to dream of Bosnia like a person, in place of my dad.

And auntic Refija, I'd like two swings.

So Mahira could swing on one, and I on the other. . .





13. juni 1994.

Naime, prema podacima koje je sakupio naš meteorolog Esad Kirlić, ukupna količina padavina od 9. do 13. juna iznosi oko 40 litara po metru kvadratnom, dok je u Hercegovini još veća!

Evo i malog primjera. Ljudi koji imaju sreću da imaju bašču veličine 10 puta 10 metara dobili su "odozgo" po četiri hiljade litara vode!

Koliko su onda dobila jezera?

Od Elektroprivrede BiH očekujemo da odgovori na pitanja:

ili gdje je otišla voda, ili gdje nam to odlazi struja?

> 19. juni 1994. DNEVNIK TVBIH

(UŽIVO) Emir Hadžihafizbegović, glumac, autor drame "San o Bosni", odlomak.

Hadžihafizbegović:

Rođen sam 1983. godine u jednom mjestu što se zove Bratunac.

Naša kuća nije bila najljepša ali je meni bila najdraža.

Ni dan danas mi nije jasno što su nas otjerali kad je to naše.

Babu su ubili, Mahira i Nejla su otišle u jednu državu što se zove Njemačka,

u nekakav grad što se zove Štutgart,

a mati, ja i Edhem smo u jednom mjestu što se zove Živinice.

Živimo u jednoj školi, a hranimo se u jednoj menzi.

lma tu jedna teta Refija što me puno voli pa me svaki dan pita:

"Sine Enese, šta bi volio"?

Ja kažem:"Teta Refija, volio bih da mati ne plače, jer kad mati ne plače taj dan se zove veseo. Volio bih, teta Refija, da sanjam, volio bih da sanjam da mi Bosna dođe nekako kao insan pa da mi zamijeni babu.

l volio bih, teta Refija, da imam dvije ljuljaške. Da se na jednoj ljulja Mahira, a na drugoj ja...



19 June 1994

HEWS TYBIH

We start this evening's News half an hour later than usual because of the live propocast of the Eurovision Concert from Vijecnica /Sarajevo's Town Hail, featuring the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by the great Zubin Mekta.

Both before, during and after the concert, the aggressor went on striking its single note.

19 June 1994 NEWS TVBIH

And finally

The News is followed directly by this evening's shock for the ladies, and childish pleasure for the men. World Cup football.





19. juni 1994.

Večerašnji Dnevnik počinjemo sa zakašnjenjem od pola sata zbog direktnog prijenosa evrovizijskog koncerta iz Vijecnice Sarajevske filharmonije, pod dirigentskom palicom velikog Zubina Mehte.

Uoći, za vrijeme i poslije koncerta agresor je nastavio svoje udaranje u jednu žicu.

19. juni 1994.

1 konačno

Odmah nakon Dnevníka slijedi većernji šok za dame i djećija radost za muškarce. Svjetski šampionat u fudbalu.



UNE Rentu-Bullerna Prof. Dr. Mustafa effendi Cerić Supreme leader of the falamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Hadžifejzović: Gine might call title programme Politics and religion .

To entart enterts are usual ducted as religious, leases of the sparent Community and usual solution artificial the but the state of

On Code: Alto is to judge what is solitical, what is religious, what is cultural? Alto is the aromet of what is solutional and what is religious? We all make the night to appress these issues. Someone chick calls than everything togings.

Hadžidejpović: Some of your moves that could be described as political commitment are to some emer-"advisory". Dis visu, field the need, as following leader, its come out with company views?

Do Certical have the right as a man, as a number sering, to give my views on temper issues of education social issues...

Haddleigonic How do may see the future of the Republic of Brisha and herzegowina, its social system. as enimed another its as activities? Then the Pipers served office of the status Community, have a plan a programme, a bluegring?

Dr. Ceries Onfortunately, I don't have a decisive aromer, a solution for Boshia and inercegovina and more than you do. What we want is one thing, what we can registion is expect is another. Anione who gives it serious trought, who has a conscience, who has more principles can see that Bishia and Herrywith careco of a morographical, morographical global society. In the a ways deed to the title. multi-ethnic. The Muslims are one element of that plurality.

Hadzifejzović: What do you see as more important; the national fanarening of the Boshlats, the Visiting, or the religious?

Dr. Cerló: The two are indeparable. That process of alienating us from ourselves has in fact alienated us from our values.

When we were Tiberated from our blamic identity by atheism, we freed ourselves from our nations." identity without difficulty, too. And then, with equal ease, we became all enated from our Bosnian language. Finally it was our country that was called into question. When they began to expropriate our equintry, our homeland, then we stopped short and said: Hang on! Where are we in all this?

Hadžilejzović: fou can't have everything!

Dr. Cerlé: You ear/t have everything! That awareness of our homeland can reinforce the recovery of our language, our national identity and our religious identity. For some, it's the Islamic identity that in 10 oc more important, for owners their national identity, for others the state. People should be free to choose Manuscripy, tricin it unitype - free mill, the freedom to opt for that which is better. But if Sarajevo is full of back willing account, if there's not a single restaurant where you can dine without alcohol, even around the Bells meanue, that means I don't have freedom of choice as a Muslim. Eve no choice but to go to places where I shouldn't be, as a Muslim. There have to be some places where a Muslim and his family can feel like Muslims, without barring other people from having other places where they have their own

To survive all this in Sarajevu and not believe in God is truly impossible.



UŽIVO Reisu-l-ulema prof. dr. Mustafa efendija Cerić Vrhovni poglavar Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini

Hadžifejzović: Ova bi se emisija mogla nazvati "Politika i religija".

Koliko se prepliću Vaše dužnosti kao vjerskog poglavara Islamske zajednice i Vaše političke aktivnosti?

Dr. Cerić: Ko je taj koji može prosuđivati šta je političko, šta je vjersko, šta je kulturno? Ko je taj sudija koji govori šta je političko, šta je vjersko? Svako ima pravo da se tim pitanjima bavi. Neko je rekao, sve je politika!

Hadžifejzović: Neki vaši nastupi koji se mogu okarakterisati kao politički angažman su u neku ruku "savjetodavni". Vi osjećate potrebu da kao islamski poglavar istupite sa nekim stavovima?

Dr. Cerić: Ja imam pravo kao čovjek, kao građanin da dam svoje mišljenje o određenim pitanjima obrazovanja i školstva, društvenim pitanjima ...

Hadžifejzović: Kako vidite budućnost Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, njen društveno-politički sistem, nieno uređenje? Ima li Rijaset plan, program, projekat?

Dr. Cerić: Nažalost, nemam ni ja, ni vi, ni niko decidan odgovor, rješenje za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Jedno su naše želje, drugo su realnosti.

Svako ko ozbiljno razmišlja, ko ima svoju savjest ko ima moralne principe može zaključiti da BiH ne može biti jednonacionalna, jednoreligijska zajednica ... Ona je oduvijek bila multikulturna, multietnička. Muslimani su jedan element tog višenacionalnog ...

Hadžifejzović: Šta je po Vama prioritetnije: nacionalno "osvještenje" Bošnjaka-muslimana ili religijsko?

Dr. Cerić: To se ne može odvajati. Taj postupak otuđivanja nas od nas samih ... nas se zaista otuđivalo od naših vrijednosti.

Kada smo se ateizacijom "oslobodili" islamskog identiteta, onda smo se lakše oslobodili nacionalnog. Poslije toga smo se lakše otudili od jezika našeg bosanskog. Na kraju je došla u pitanje naša zemlja. Kada su nam počeli uzimati zemlju, domovinu, onda smo se trgnuli i kazali: Čekaj! Gdje smo mi ti?!

Hadžifejzović: Ne može baš sve!

Dr. Cerić: Ne može baš sve! Ta svijest o domovini se može jačati našim vraćanjem jeziku, nacionalnom identitetu i vjerskom identitetu. Za nekog će biti važniji islamski za nekog nacionalni identitet, za nekog državni identitet.

Ljudima treba dati slobodu izbora. Islamski: Ihtijar - slobodu izbora boljega! Ali, ako ja u Sarajevu na svakom čošku imam bife, alkohol, ako nemate nijednog restorana gdje možete večerati bez alkohola, čak i oko Begove džamije, onda ja kao musliman nemam slobodu izbora! Ja sam prinuđen da sjedim na mjestu gdje ja kao musliman ne bih sjedio! Mora postojati mjesto gdje će musliman sa porodicom se osjećati kao musliman, ne zabranjujući drugima da imaju drugo mjesto gdje će oni imati svoju vlastitu slobodu ...

U Sarajevu preživjeti sve ovo a nemati vjeru u Boga, stvarno nije moguće.



16 July 1994

Hadžifejzović: At the Rijaset meeting in Travnik it was agreed that you would issue a fatwa in amore legal opinion/ on mixed marriages. This was not well received here, I have to tell you.

Dr. Cerić: This was an issue that was topicalized and, regrettably, politicized. We all have the rights dress as we choose and to choose our marriage partner as we wish. These are elementary freedoms. We want to set out the Sharia position on this issue. There's not a single religion in the world that advocates mixed marriages. We want to say, as Muslims, that this is how it is in the Qur'an, and that anyone who behaves otherwise does so at his own risk. There is no priesthood in Islam to have a monopoly of the truth. Everyone can read the Qur'an. We only want to say that this is how it is.

Hadžifejzović: What does the Qur'an advise in this regard?

Dr. Cerić: There is an Islamic principle that a Muslim may marry a woman from the Ahl al kitab, the people of the Book, followers of the Gospel, of the Old or of the New Testament. She must be guaranteed every religious right, with the proviso that the children shall be brought up in the Islamic spirit. According to the Sharia, a Muslim woman may not marry a non-Muslim, because other religions do not recognize Muhammad, peace be upon him, as the Messenger of God, nor would her rights be assured.

Hadžifejzović: You are aware that mixed marriages are the 'consequence' of our common living with Serbs, Croats and others, the outcome of modern life in Europe. The question is European Islam, how difficult or easy is it to live by Islamic principles here in the heart of Europe, where we live among people who are Christians of one kind or another and who are in a majority.

Dr. Cerić: Mind, we are also an element of that mixed environment, but it doesn't mean that we don't have the right to preserve our identity. Islam and Muslims have plenty to offer the world. We are proud of being able to say that Islam preserved the heritage of European civilization. We were in Europe before some of those who claim to have brought us to Europe. However, I am concerned to see some of our people adopting Europe's 'cultural' trash. There's no 'Europe' in alcoholism, prostitution, pornography, drugs. We must adopt from Europe the things Europe itself is proud of: technology, computer sciences, accuracy in all we do, hard work.

Hadžifejzović: I'd call what's going in Bosnia a 'wave of third-rate Muslimization of Muslims'. In your view, are the people dictating that trend, that vocabulary, really believers? Do you think so, are you happy to see so many people using the Islamic greetings of merhaba or salaam?

Dr. Cerić: I'm for freedom. Until proven otherwise, why not trust people? In Russia, Muslims used 'salaam' as their national form of greeting throughout the seventy years of communism, even if they were party members. Salaam is a universal greeding. I've seen people in America greeting each other with Shalom, though they weren't Jewish. I'm not in favour of compelling others to say Salaam, but others living with us need to behave in a civilized manner towards us and accept that we have our values too.

People in Zagreb greet one another by saying 'Bog' /God/, but it never crossed my mind that this means they all go to church. I hope I'm not too critical: we have a great many Bosniacs with a complex, fearful of their own identity, not yet liberated.

I saw in Malaysia that the TV News begins with Salaam and Good evening!

Hadžifejzović: In Turkey the news begins with Good evening, not with Salaam.

Hadžifejzović: Na sastanku Rijaseta u Travníku dogovoreno je da čete Vi izdati Fetvu o mješovitim brakovima. Mogu Vam reći da je to ovdje dočekano "na nož".

Dr. Cerić: To je pitanje aktuelizirano i nažalost ispolitizirano ... Svako ima pravo da se oblaći po svom ukusu i da bira sebi životnog druga po ukusu. To je elementarna sloboda. Mi želimo da kažemo ono što je Šerijatski stav po tom pitanju. Nijedna religija u svijetu u svom programu nema mješovite brakove. Želimo kazati muslimanima da je u Kur'anu tako i da onaj ko postupa drugaćije to čini na vlastiti rizik. U Islamu ne postoji svećenstvo koje ima svu istinu. Svako to može pročitati u Kur'anu. Mi samo želimo reći da je to tako i tako.

Hadžifejzović: Šta Kur'an preporučuje u tom pogledu?

Dr. Cerić: Postoji islamski princip da se Musliman može oženiti "Ehlikitabijom", ženom sljedbenicom Knjige. Jevandelja. Starog ili Novog zavjeta. Njoj se trebaju osigurati sva vjerska prava s tim da se djeca odgajaju u islamskom duhu. Muslimanka se po Šerijatu ne može udati za nemuslimana zato sto druge religije ne priznaju Muhammeda a.s. kao Božijeg Poslanika, niti su njena prava zagarantovana ...

Hadžifejzović: Vi znate da su mješoviti brakovi "posljedica" našeg zajedničkog života sa Srbima, Hrvatima i ostalima, posljedica modernog života u Evropi. Pitanje je: "evropski" Islam, koliko je teško to jest lako islamske principe provoditi ovdje usred Evrope, gdje živimo sa ljudima koji su hrišćani, kršćani i koji su u većini?

Dr. Cerić: Pazite, i mi smo element te mješovite sredine, ali to ne znači da nemamo pravo da sačuvamo svoj identitet. Islam i muslimani imaju šta da ponude svijetu. Mi se ponosimo time kada kažemo da je Islam spasio baštinu evropske civilizacije ... Mi smo bili u Evropi prije nego što neki sada govore da nas uvode u Evropu ... Međutim, mene zabrinjava što neki naši ljudi uzimaju evropsko "kulturno" smeće! Nije "Evropa" u alkoholizmu, prostituciji, pomografiji, drogi! Mi od Evrope moramo preuzeti ono čime se ona ponosi: tehnologiju, kompjuterske znanosti, preciznosti u poslu, hard work. Raditi.

Hadžifejzović: Ja bih ovo u Bosni nazvao "talasom nekvalitetne muslimanizacije muslimana"! Da li vjerujete da ljudi koji diktiraju taj trend, rjećnik, su zaista vjernici? Da li vjerujete, da li Vam je drago sto toliko ljudi ima koji se "merhabaju", selame?

Dr. Cerić: Ja sam za slobodu! Dok se ne pokaže drugačije, zašto ljudima ne bih vjerovao? Muslimani u Rusiji su za sedamdeset godina komunizma "Selam" upotrebljavali kao svoj nacionalni pozdrav iako su bili članovi partije. Selam je univerzalni pozdrav. Ja sam vidio ljude u Americi koji se pozdravljaju sa "Šalom" a nisu Židovi! Ja nisam za to da drugima namećemo Selam ali drugi koji žive s nama treba da se civilizirano odnose prema nama i da prihvate tu vrijednost. U Zagrebu se pozdravljaju "Bog" i ja nikad nisam pomislio da taj ide u Crkvu. Nadam se da nisam prestrog: imamo puno Bošnjaka koji su iskompleksirani, imaju strah od sebe, još nisu slobodni.

Ja sam u Maleziji vidio da TV Dnevnik počinje sa Selam i Good evening!

Hadžifejzović: U Turskoj Dnevnik ne poćinje se Selam vec sa Dobro veće.

16 July 1994 NEWS TVBIH

Dr. Cerić: So that means we're good Turks, does it?15

Hadžifejzović: Here's a viewer's question for you: 'I don't believe in God, I like a drink, but I'm fighting against the chetniks. Does that make me less of a Bosniae than others?'

Dr. Cerić: ...In Islam, alcohol is haram, forbidden. Each of us is accountable to God and ourselves for our own conduct.

Hadžifejzović: You are an unusually young man to be an Islamic leader; you became Reis ul ulema at forty. This is highly unusual for such a position. As I see it, you haven't taken advantage of your youth and energy to exercise greater influence on young people.

Dr. Cerlé: What's most important to me is that young people should be free, that they should have freedom of choice and that they should opt for what is best, and for us as the Islamic Community to offer them the best. It's our job to offer, and theirs to accept or not.

Hadžifejzović: That's the tragedy of it: it's the misfortune of Islam that the Qur'an is taught us by various hojjas, semi-educated people but wearing the turban.

A supreme Islamic leader aged only forty, a graduate of Cairo and holding a doctorate from Chicago, surely could do more to put things right?

Dr. Cerić: I don't agree with your views of hojjas. It's they who have preserved Islam and our identity. I don't agree that they are only semi-educated. They interpreted the world properly to our parents. I, too, was taught by a hojja who couldn't read or write, but he was a great authority.

Hadžifejzović: What I mean is that young people need to be taught the Qur'an and Islamic philosophy more correctly, to higher standards. The Qur'an is taught here on the principle of: this is what the Qur'an says you can do and what you can't do; what you must do and what you musn't do.

Dr. Cerić: Now you've made it clear. . . That's a bit better.

 Bosnia's Muslims are commonly called Turks, with derogatory intent, by the country's non-Muslims. *Trans* Dr. Cerić: Pa, po tome bi mogli reći da smo dobri Turci, je li? ...

Hadžifejzović: Gledalac Vas pita: "Ne vjerujem u Boga, pijem a borim se protiv četnika! Da li sam manji Bošnjak od drugih"?

Dr. Cerić: ... Alkohol je po Islamu haram. Svako će prema svom vlastitom ponašanju biti odgovoran pred Bogom i samim sobom.

Hadžifejzović: Vi ste za vjerskog poglavara izrazito mlad čovjek. Vi ste sa 40 godina postali reisu-l-ulema. Posve neuobičajeno za tu funkciju. Čini mi se da tu mladost, energiju niste iskoristili u smislu nekog značajnijeg uticaja na mlade ljude.

Dr. Cerić: Meni je najvažnije da mladi ljudi budu slobodni, da imaju slobodu izbora i to izbora boljega a mi kao Islamska zajednica da ponudimo kvalitet. Naša zadaća je da ponudimo a oni da prihvate ili ne prihvate.

Hadžifejzović: To je tragedija: štetu Islamu na ovim prostorima nanijele su razne "hodžice", ljudi koji su polupismeni ali sa "ahmedijom" su tumačili Kur'an na ovim prostorima. Vrhovni vjerski poglavar, 40 godina, školovan u Kairu, doktorirao u Čikagu, možda nešto više može da napravi?

Dr. Cerić: Ne bih se složio sa ocjenom o "hodžicama". Te, kako Vi kažete hodžice, su sačuvale Islam i naš identitet. Ne bih rekao da su nepismeni. Oni su našim roditeljima tumačili svijet pravilno. 1 rnene je učio "hodžica" koji nije znao čitati i

pisati ali je bio veliki autoritet ...

Hadžifejzović: Htio sam da kažem da mladim ljudima treba ispravnije, kvalitetnije tumačenje Kur'ana i islamske filozofije.

Ovdje je Kur'an tumačen po principu: Po Kur'anu se ovo može, ovo ne može. Ovo smije, ovo ne smije!!!

Dr. Cerić: Sad si objasnio ... Sad je malo bolje ...

18 July 1994

NEWS TVB/H

Though we have four Parliaments, there is only one subject being debated today. Whether to accept or to reject the maps proposed by the international Contact Group.

Four Parliaments three Bosnian nations a single dilemma.

After a long period on the defensive, the Bosnians have moved, manfully and resolutely, onto the counter-attack.

The result is lovely, and clear to see.

The subject is the birthrate.

Every day more and more Bosnians are born in this city.

Of course, we didn't need the arms embargo to be lifted for this resolute and virile Bosnian counter-attack.

21 July 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Following yet another rejection of the peace plan by the Serbs, the international community is at a loss what to do now, after /issuing/ a series of explicit threats.

Alija Izetbegović announced today that after the Serb NO, the Bosnian YES may not hold good either.

There's no doubt that this is a brave decision, but there remains the question whether we should have reacted so quickly, or should have waited for Europe, America and Russia to carry out their threats...

21 July 1994

HEWS TVBIH

A crew from the Sarajevo agency pool has filmed an attack on the blue helmets based in NedDarići /in outer Sarajevo/.

UNPROFOR troops returned fire on being attacked.

Our sources tell us that the counter-strike was led personally by General André Soubirou, commanding officer for the Sarajevo area.

The last two days have been described as 'relatively peaceful'.

As for yesterday, 'relatively' meant:

- 115 projectiles landed on Ribnica
- 153 on Sapna
- 56 on the Grabeški plateau

UNPROFOR's statement that there were 'signs that the fighting was easing' in the Bihac area meant that 156 explosions were recorded around Skokovo alone.

18. juli 1994.

Čak tri Skupštine i jedan Sabor, jedne tako male države danas raspravlja o jednoj temi. Prihvatiti ili odbiti ponuđene mape međunarodne kontakt grupe.

Četiri Skupštine, tri bosanska naroda, jedna dilema.

Bosanci su nakon duge defanzive, odnosno odbrane, prešli u odlučan, muški kontranapad. Rezultat je evidentan i lijep. Tema je natalitet. Svakog dana u ovom gradu se rađa sve više Bosanaca.

Naravno, za ovaj odlučni, muški, bosanski kontranapad nije nam trebalo ukidanje embarga na uvoz oružja.



21. juli 1994.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Međunarodna zajednica se nakon još jednog srpskog odbijanja mirovnog plana našla u behutu, kako sada da reaguje nakon niza izrečenih prijetnji.

Alija Izetbegović je danas izjavio da nakon srpskog ne možda ne važi ni bosansko da?

Nema sumnje da je ova odluka hrabra, ali je pitanje da li se ovako brzo trebalo reagovati ili je trebalo sačekati poteze i ostvarenja prijetnji Evrope, Amerike i Rusije...

21. juli 1994.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Ekipa Sarajevo Agency Poola snimila je napad na "plavce" koji su radili u Nedžanćima /Sarajevo/. Nakon ovog napada "unproforci" su uzvratili vatru. Kako saznajemo iz naših izvora, tom akcijom uzvraćanja rukovodio je lično general Andre Subiru, komandant sektora Sarajevo

Jučerašnji i današnji dan su okarakterisani kao "relativno mirni". Taj "relativitet" za jučer znači da je; na Ribnicu "palo" 115 projektila, na Sapnu 153, na Grabeški plato 56.

Informacija UNPROFOR-a da su na bihaćkom ratištu primjetni "znakovi smirivanja" znači da je samo u okolini Skokova registrirano 156 detonacija.

25 July 1994

NEWS TVBIH

The Russian Minister of Defence, General Grachev, will visit Belgrade tomorrow.

Of course, the only thing that's not clear about Grachev's visit to Belgrade is whether he is coming to agree to continue joint Russian-Serb moves in regard to the West or is his mission of a 'persuasive' nature?

The first seems the most likely,

After all, how else to explain the sudden action by aggressor forces throughout our country.

28 July 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Following the incident on Mount Igman in which Serb troops decimated a British convoy, killing one soldier and injuring several others, one seriously, General Rose /UNPROFOR Commander/ announced that it was an error by 'Radovan's' Serbs.

After which, according to his press officer Halloway, the General went sunbathing.

Rose at first contradicted Colonel Mitchell, who survived the attack on the convoy and who had explicitly said that it was deliberate, but today told journalists that it was after all a pre-planned attack!

Conclusion: The General has a touch of sunstroke.

28 July 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Statistics show that during the two and a half years of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serb-Montenegrin aggressors have

killed 143,924 people. In Sarajevo, they have killed 10,002 civilians and wounded 58,351.

These 'figures' have risen today.

3 August 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Today's News headlines are brief.

The Bosnian Army had some success against the aggressor forces today, and the aggressor some success against UNPROFOR.

25. juli 1994.

Ruski ministar odbrane, general Gračev sutra dolazi u Beograd.
Naravno, jedina nejasnoća vezana za posjetu Gračeva Beogradu je da li on dolazi da bi dogovorio nastavak zajedničkog rusko-srpskog djelovanja pred Zapadom, ili njegova misija ima "ubjedivački" karakter.
Prva varijanta se čini vjerovatnijom.
Uostalom, kako tumačiti naglo agresorsko aktiviranje gotovo na svim ratištima u našoj zemlji.

28. juli 1994.

Nakon što su srpski vojnici na Igmanu desetkovali konvoj britanskih vozila, ubili jednog, teško ranili još jednog i povrijedili nekoliko vojnika, general Rouz /komandant UNPROFOR-a/ je izjavio da su to "Radovanovi Srbi" uradili - greškom!

Potom je, po riječima njegovog predstavnika za štampu Haloveja, general otišao na sunčanje!

Riječi pukovnika Mičela, koji je preživio napad na konvoj i koji je jasno rekao da je namjerno izvršen, Rouz je prvo demantovao da bi danas novinarima izjavio kako se ipak radi o smišljenom napadu!

Zaključak - general se previše sunča.

28. juli 1994.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Za ove dvije i po godine rata u Bosni i Hercegovini, prema statističkim, podacima srpsko-crnogorski agresor je ubio 143.924 osobe.
U Sarajevu je ubio 10.002 civila, a ranio 58.351 građanina.

Ove "cifre" su danas uvećane.

03. august 1994.

Najava ovog dana ukratko glasi:

Bosanska armija je danas postizala uspjehe protiv agresora, a agresor protiv UNPROFOR-a.

3 August 1994 NEWS TVBIH

Serbian Television announces that Serbia will come under ever greater pressure as a result of the Pale Parliament's rejection of the peace plan.

The latest UN Resolution on sanctions against Serbia even bans cars from entering Serbia with more petrol in their tanks than they need to drive to the first petrol station in Serbia!

So people will enter Serbia on 'reserve'.

3 August 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Of all the special wars in ex-Yugoslavia, the most interesting is the current 'war' between the Serb television stations of Belgrade and Pale.

The premise is simple: Milošević, speaking on behalf of his segment of the Serb nation, attacks Karadžić. Karadžić doesn't show up on television, but urges his segment of the same nation to reply to Milošević on his behalf.

The ostensible conflict between Milošević and Karadžić is an opportunity for the rest of the media to discover some more juicy details about the 'leaders' of the Serb nation.

This is an extract from Slobodna Dalmacija /based in Split, Croatia/.

'NATO experts have a mass of intelligence data. It would be enough to release the news, which the Serb media would then broadcast unthinkingly, that Karadžić spends about fifty marks a day just on his bouffant hairdo while at the same time Serb soldiers have just one patty between two in their trenches on the front line.

The CIA has long since been monitoring the secret deposits held on discreet private accounts in both Austria and Greece. Radovan Karadžić, Biljana Plavšić and Nikola Koljević have each withdrawn 250,000 and 300,000 Deutschmarks and have never settled their dues.

The extent of the corruption surrounding Karadžić goes far beyond the famous African and Latin American scandals'...

6 August 1994

NEWS TVBIH

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has already lasted for one hundred and thirty weeks, but never have we found it so difficult to decide how, and with which news item, to begin the News.

We have just received four /vital/ items of news.

The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina has issued a public statement to the people who are 'under temporary occupation'. The statement was signed on behalf of the Presidency by President (zetbegović.

The Greater Serbia project has definitively collapsed. It has collapsed because it was based on the destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an internationally recognized country, and because it was founded on genocide and ethnic cleansing. , ,

Are you aware, have you been informed, that so far eighty-three states have recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina...

03. august 1994.

Televizija Srbije objavljuje da će se daleko ići u "stiskanju" Srbije zbog odbijanja paljanskog parlamenta da prihvati mirovni plan.

Po novoj rezoluciji UN-a o sankcijama protiv Srbije čak i automobili koji ulaze u Srbiju ne mogu u rezervoaru imati više goriva nego što im je potrebno do prve benzinske pumpe u Srbiji! Tako će se u Srbiju ulaziti sa "rezervom".

03. august 1994.

Od svih specijalnih ratova vođenih u bivšoj Jugoslaviji svakako je najzanimljiviji ovaj aktuelni "rat" između srpskih televizija Beograda i Pala.

Postavka je jednostavna: Milošević u ime svog dijela srpskog naroda napada Karadžića, Karadžić se ne pojavljuje na svojoj televiziji već gura svoj dio naroda da u njegovo ime odgovara Miloševiću.

Navodni sukob između Miloševića i Karadžića povod je i ostalim medijima da otkriju još neke pikantne detalje o "vođama" srpskog naroda.

Evo dijela teksta iz "Slobodne Dalmacije" /Split, Hrvatska, op.a./.

"Stručnjaci NATO-a posjeduju mnoštvo obavještajnih informacija. Dovoljno je lansirati vijest, što srpski mediji onda i nesvjesno prenose, da Karadžić dnevno samo za održavanje svoje bujne kose troši pedeset maraka, dok istodobno na fronti u rovovima dva srpska vojnika dijele samo jednu paštetu.

CIA odavno prati polaganje tajnog kapitala na diskretne privatne račune u Austriji i Grčkoj. Radovan Karadžić, Biljana Plavšić i Nikola Koljević podigli su od 250.000 do 300.000 njemačkih maraka, a da dug nisu poravnali.

Razmjere korupcije u Karadžićevoj tvorevini nadmašuju glasovite afričke i latinoameričke afere...".

06. august 1994.

Rat u Bosni i Hercegovini traje već sto trideset sedmica i nikada do sada nismo imali toliko dilema kako i sa kojom informacijom da počnemo ovaj Dnevnik.

U ovom momentu su nam došle čak četiri /bitne/ informacije.

Predsjedništvo BiH uputilo je Proglas sugrađanima koji se nalaze "pod privremenom okupacijom". Proglas je u ime Predsjedništva potpisao predsjednik Izetbegović.

"Projekat "Velike Srbije" je definitivno propao. Propao, jer se zasniva na rušenju Bosne i Hercegovine kao međunarodno priznate države, jer se temelji na genocidu i etničkom čišćenju...

Znate li, da li su vas obavijestili da su Bosnu i Hercegovinu do sada priznale 83 države svijeta...?!

Svi vi koji niste ukaljali ruke krvlju nevinih, dobro ste došli. Mi vas prihvatamo kao ravnopravne građane suverene države, pod uvjetom da glasate za mir a protiv rata.

Anyone whose hands are not sulfied with the blood of innocents is welcome. We accept you as citizens with equal rights in a sovereign country, on condition that you opt for peace and against war

Our Army, in which there are both Serbs and Croats, is not an avenging army; it is not an anti-Serb army. Its flag flies the golden fleur de lis, not the death's-head.

Do what you should, as human beings: stand for the defence of the few surviving Bosniacs, Croats, and other neighbours of yours in Banjaluka, Prijedor, Sanski Most, Bosanski Brod, Brčko, Bijeljina, Trebinje. . .

Refuse to obey those who are calling on you to go on with the war!

Hadžifejzović: The proclamation of the 'General Front of the Serbian Nation of Bosnia and Herzegovina' says that 'a group of maniacs in Pale is defying the whole world and driving the entire Serbian nation into disaster'.

Newscaster, off: 'These are fateful days for the Serbian nation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was tricked and forced into war more than two years ago by radical and ultra-nationalist elements.

They promised us ease and prosperity – what we got was one hundred and fifty thousand dead, seven hundred thousand wounded and two million grieving and hungry people...

The overthrow of the extremists, the return of refugees and the creation of conditions for a normal life!

This is why we appeal to the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina to organize ourselves on the criterion of honesty, to overthrow and punish those who are guilty for this war! Let us extend the hand of friendship to our neighbours and begin a new life!

Support us!'

Hadžifejzović: Commander Atif Dudaković /Commanding Officer of the Fifth Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ has issued a public announcement to all citizens of Cazinska Krajina. /This border region was the scene of fighting between the Bosnian Army and the Army of the 'Autonomous Region of Western Krajina' led by Fikret Abdić, a conflict dubbed the Muslim-Muslim war/.

Dudaković: Let there be the least possible bloodshed, the blood of our Bosniacs on this our land. I say to the prisoners of war /Abdić's men/ that we can no longer say that this was seduction or 'wrong moves', because you were armed directly by the SAO Krajina /Serb Autonomous Region in Croatia/ and by Belgrade.

You opened fire on us.

We must bear in mind what lies behind us.

What lies behind us is nothing but Muslim areas laid waste, our own people driven from their homes or killed.

We don't have many professionals, we don't have many of our people left, so we must fight for every last man.

Each of us must be responsible for our own actions. But it was Fikret Abdić and his clique that began this unprecedented fratricidal war.

Join the ranks of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina!



06. august 1994.

Naša Armija u kojoj ima i Srba i Hrvata nije osvetnička vojska, ona nije antisrpska vojska. Na njenoj zastavi lepršaju zlatni ljiljani, a ne mrtvačka glava.

Učinite ono što ste kao ljudi dužni učiniti: stanite u zaštitu onog malog broja preostalih Bošnjaka. Hrvata i drugih vaših komšija u Banjaluci, Prijedoru, Sanskom Mostu, Bosanskom Brodu, Brčkom. Bijeljini. Trebinju...

Otkaźite poslušnost onima koji vas pozivaju na nastavak rata"!

Hadžifejzović: "Sveopšti front srpskog naroda u BiH" u svom Proglasu kaže da "grupa manijaka sa Pala prkosi cijelom svijetu i gura sav srpski narod u provaliju".

Spiker, off: "Ovih dana rješava se sudbina srpskog naroda u Bosni i Hercegovini kojeg su radikalni i ekstremno nacionalistički elementi prije više od dvije godine silom i obmanom digli u rat.

Obećali su blagostanje i prosperitet - dobili smo sto pedeset hiljada poginulih, sedamsto hiljada ranjenih, dva miliona ožalošćenih i gladnih...

Svrgavanje ekstremista, povratak izbjeglica i stvaranje uslova za normalan život!

Zato, srpski narode u Bosni i Hercegovini, organizujmo se po kriteriju poštenja, zbacimo i kaznimo one koji su krivi za ovaj rat! Pružimo ruku pomirenja našim komšijama i krenimo u izgradnju novog života!

Podržite nas"!

Hadžifejzović: Brigadir Atif Dudaković /komandant Petog korpusa Armije BiH, op.a/" uputio je stanovnicima Cazinske krajine /tamo se sukobila bosanska Armija i Vojska autonomne oblasti "Zapadna krajina" pod vodstvom Fikreta Abdića, rat nazvan muslimansko-muslimanskim, op.a/ Proglas.

Dudaković: ...da se što manje krvi prolije, naše bošnjačke na ovim našim prostorima! Zarobljeni vojnici /"abdićevci"/, ne možemo više govoriti o "zavodljivosti" i "pogrešnim koracima" jer vi ste direktno naoružavani od SAO Krajine /"srpska oblast" u Hrvatskoj/ i Beograda!

Pucali ste po nama!

Mi moramo imati na umu šta je iza nas.

lza nas su samo razrušena muslimanska mjesta, protjerani naši ljudi, pobijeni naši ljudi!

Stoga, nemamo mi mnogo stručnjaka, nemamo mnogo našeg naroda i mi se moramo boriti za svakog čovjeka!

Neka svako ko ovo radi bude spreman da odgovara za svoja djela. A, to je Fikret Abdić sa njegovom klikom koja je na ovom prostoru napravila neviden bratoubilački rat!

Pristupite u redove Armije Bosne i Hercegovine"!









Yesterday's NATO air strikes have resounded throughout the world.

The 'explosions' echoed least of all in Sarajevo.

While congratulating our pilots, we must point out that they could and should have done more.

The Sarajevo čaršija commented cynically on the new NATO 'resolve'.

Twelve aircraft and six hundred shells destroyed just one tank.

How can this be compared with our boys from the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina who destroyed a hundred and sixty tanks around Olovo and Maglaj?

9 August 1994

NEWS TVBIH

There's no doubt that the advance of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina towards Velika Kladuśa is a major success.

Sadly, it's no cause for celebration, given that it's a bitter victory of brother over brother, friend over friend, neighbour over neighbour.

The bloody events of Kladuša have cost the lives of more than fifteen hundred people.

In the latest wave, five thousand civilians have left this region, and have fled to areas under Serb control in the Krajina region /of Croatia/.

About sixteen hundred of Abdic's soldiers have also fled the battlefield and headed for Krajina.

15 August 1994

NEWS TVBIH

In memoriam

Mr Manfred Wörner, NATO Secretary General, has quit the international political stage.

To the Bosnians, who are prone to interpret the moves of diplomats responsible for Bosnia in rather emotive terms, it might seem that the late Mr Wörner could have done more.

However, Mr Wörner had rather limited powers in the complex decision-making system involving the UN, NATO, the US, Russia and all these European hangers-on.

Being German, though, he knew what fascism means, and knew that it must be fought against. And as such, he did something that places him among the ranks of those who have grasped the essence of the Bosnian war.

During his worst health crisis, following four operations for cancer, Manfred Wörner disregarded the explicit orders of his doctors, whose view it was that even a single hour away from intensive care would mean his certain death, and left hospital to give the sharp rap of the hammer that denoted the opening of the NATO conference on 9 February this year. This was the session at which the decision to give the Serbs an ultimatum about the slaughter in Sarajevo was adopted.

Sadly, his deteriorating health and now his death have blunted the blade of NATO resolve.









06. august 1994.

Jučerašnja akcija NATO-ovih aviona Jučerašnja akcija NATO aviona odjeknula je u svijetu. "Eksplozije" su najmanje odjeknule u Sarajevu.

Uz sve čestítke "našim" pilotima moramo primijetiti da se moglo i moralo više.

Sarajevska čaršija je cinično prokomentarisala "odlučnost" NATO-a.

Dvanaest aviona, čak šesto granata, unište jedan tenk.

Dvanaest aviona je uništilo jedan tenk?!

Šta je to u usporedbi sa momcima Armije BiH koji su samo oko Olova i Maglaja uništili čak sto sezdeset tenkova?

09. august 1994.

Napredovanje Armije BiH prema Velikoj Kladuši, nesumnjivo je veliki uspjeh.

Nažalost, "slavlja" ne može biti jer se radi o gorkoj pobjedi brata protiv brata, prijatelja protiv prijatelja, komšije protiv komšije...

Krvava kladuška avantura koštala je života preko hiljadu i petsto ljudi.

Ovaj kraj u najnovijem talasu napustilo je pet hiljada civila koji su, da bi apsurd bio veći, prešli na teritoriju koja je pod kontrolom krajiških Srba /u Hrvatskoj/.

Oko hiljadu i šesto pripadnika abdićevih jedinica takođe je napustilo poprište sukoba i prešlo u Krajinu.

15. august 1994.

In memoriam

Sa velike svjetske političke pozomice otišao je gospodin Manfred Verner, generalni sekretar NATO-a.

Bosancima, koji su spremni prilično emotivno tumačiti poteze diplomata zaduženih za Bosnu, može se učiniti da je pokojni Verner mogao učiniti još više.

No, u prilično složenom sistemu odlučivanja u kojem učestvuju UN, NATO, Amerika, Rusija i ove evropske prišipetlje, gospodin Verner je bio prilično ograničen.

No, kao Nijemac, svjestan šta znači fašizam i znajući kako se protiv njega mora boriti, učinio je potez koji ga stavlja u red onih ljudi koji su shvatili suštinu bosanskog rata.

U vrijeme najveće zdravstvene krize, nakon četiri operacije karcinoma, Manfred Verner je uprkos izričitoj naredbi ljekara koji su smatrali da jedan sat napuštanja intenzivne njege za njega znači sigurnu smrt, napustio bolnicu i odlučnim udarcem čekića označio početak sjednice NATO-a, devetog februara ove godine, na kojoj je odlučeno da se srpskoj strani ultimativno naredi da prestane ubijanje po Sarajevu.

Nažalost, njegovo narušeno zdravlje i sada smrt otupili su oštricu odlučnosti NATO-a.









The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has acquired its own airline, AIR BOSNA, with four aircraft, A school for pilots was formed in a friendly country a year and a half ago, and the first generation of pilots have completed their training.

The best slogan for Air Bosna would be: 'We'll take off too, insha'Allah!'

15 August 1994

The fashion agency Frontmodels and our colleagues who fronted last year's best television project, 'War Art', have organized a war-time fashion show which surpassed even our pre-war shows.

Eleven young ladies from Sarajevo modelled designs by young Sarajevo fashion designer Azra Malohodžić to the men's singles' club.

Married and single alike were tempted by the team of Baščaršija ladies.

Those fellows up on the mountains missed the chance of a lifetime to see some of the beauty of this world.

The oriental designs that you saw in the show are the clearest proof and finest example that we have gone a long way to creating the kind of state that our enemies are wishing upon us.

And finally, after these Sarajevo beauties, here are the best guys.



15. august 1994.

Republika Bosna i Hercegovina dobila je svoju avio kompaniju "Air Bosna" koja raspolaže sa četiri letjelice. Pilotska škola formirana je prije godinu i po u jednoj prijateljskoj zemlji i do sada je izvedena prva generacija.

Najbolji slogan "Air Bosne" bi bio: "Poletjećemo i mi, inšallah"!

15. august 1994.

Modna agencija "Frontmodels" i naše kolege, frontmeni najboljeg televizijskog projekta u prošloj godini "Rat art", organizovali su ratnu modnu reviju koja je nadmašila i one predratne.

Jedanaest mladih Sarajki promovisalo je modele mlade sarajevske kreatorke Azre Malohodžić ispred "Kluba neženja".

l oženjeni i "slobodni" došli su u iskušenje pred reprezentativnim timom baščaršihanuma. Oni, koji su otišli na brda, propustili su životnu priliku da vide šta je to lijepo na ovom svijetu.

Orijentalni modeli koje ste vidjeli u ovoj reviji su najočitiji dokaz i najbolji primjer da smo "daleko dogurali" u formiranju onakve države kakvu nam naši neprijatelji priželjkuju.

Na kraju, nakon sarajevskih ljepotica, nastupaju najbolji momci.



Troops of the Fifth Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army, under their commanding officer Atif Dudaković, liberated Velika Kladuša in the early hours of this morning, 21 August, thereby marking the end of Fikret Abdić's autonomist uprising.

We are therefore witnessing the political and military fall of Fikret Abdić, a man who unfortunately went over to the side of the very people whose first target he was in 1987, when Yugoslavia began to split at the seams!

It is a sad and tragic end for a man who, instead of taking advantage of his excellent election results and his indubitable popularity with the people to become one of the leaders of the defence of Bosnia's independence, let himself fall to the lowest branch of autonomism.

21 August 1994

NEWS TVSBIH

GUEST on the News, Momčilo Đurić, Commanding Officer

Hadžifejzović: During today's session of the Serb Civic Council, full support was given to the Tuzla initiative to form the First Serb Liberation Battalion as part of the Second Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Our guest is the future Commanding Officer of this battalion, Momčilo Đurić.

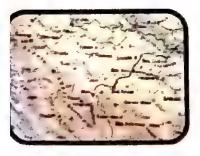
Where did the idea of creating the First Serb Battalion come from?

Durić: The idea goes back to 1992, but for political and military reasons the unit was never created. Mišo Božić, the President of the Serb Consultative Council of Tuzla, raised the subject again and got the go-ahead. Although its title suggests it is solely Serb, the unit will be composed of soldiers of all three nationalities. The Commanding Officer is a Serb, his second in command is Muslim, and the next rank down is held by a Croat. . .

Hadžifejzović: Even though this is about forming a military unit, is it also a political move?

Durić: Well, in part, yes. . . Primarily military, and then political and also moral. . . Although there are quite a number of Serbs in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, albeit of somewhat lower status, we can at least in this way demonstrate that there are plenty of Serbs. . .

Hadžifejzović: There have been volunteers who have come forward...









Jedinice Petog korpusa Armije BiH, pod komandom Atifa Dudakovića, u ranim jutarnjim satima ovog dvadesetprvog augusta, oslobodile su Veliku Kladušu i tako označile kraj autonomaške pobune Fikreta Abdića.

Svjedoci smo. dakle, političkog i vojnog kraha Fikreta Abdića, čovjeka koji se nažalost, stavio u službu onih ljudi koji su 1987. godine u startu procesa rasturanja Jugoslavije upravo na nišan, kao prvog. uzeli Abdića!

Žalostan je i tragiĉan to kraj za ĉovjeka koji je umjesto da iskoristi odlične izborne rezultate, nesumnjivu popularnost u narodu i bude jedan od lidera odbrane bosanske nezavisnosti - pristao da padne na niske grane autonomaŝtva...

21. august 1994.

Gost Dnevnika Momčilo Đurić, komandant

Hadžifejzović: Na današnjoj sjednici Srpskog građanskog vijeća data je puna podrška inicijativi iz Tuzle da se u okviru Drugog korpusa Armije BiH formira Prvi srpski oslobodilački bataljon. Naš gost je budući komandant ovog bataljona, Momčilo Đurić.

Otkud ideja da se formira Prvi srpski bataljon?

Durić: Ovo je ideja još iz 1992. godine ali iz nekih političkih i vojnih razloga nije došlo do formiranja jedinice. Mišo Božić, predsjednik Srpskog konsultativno vijeća Tuzle, sada je pokrenuo to pitanje i dobio zeleno svjetlo. Iako joj je srpski predznak, ova jedinica će biti formirana od vojnika iz sva tri naroda. Znači, komandant Srbin, zamjenik komandanta Musliman, sljedeća funkcija Hrvat...

Hadžifejzović: lako se radi o formiranju vojne jedinice, je li ovo i politički potez?

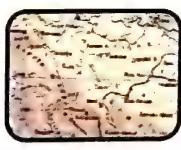
Đurić: Pa, dijelom jeste..., ja kažem prvo vojni, pa politički, pa moralni "potez"... lako ima dosta Srba u Armiji BiH ali sa nekim manjim, nižim statusom, pa da na ovakav način dokažemo da ima dosta Srba...

Hadžifejzović: Prijavili su vam se dobrovoljci...









Durić: We already have a number of volunteers who are not enlisted in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina... There was an incident in Bijeljina /Republika Srpska/, where citizens of Serb nationality set fire to the barracks. They're calling us from a certain town currently under – Karadžić – occupation, and asking how to join up... We're taking anyone who doesn't have blood on his hands...

Hadžifejzović: You are the Commanding Officer of a special unit. It is a military secret. . .

Durić: 'Over there' they know which unit this is. . .! On 28 August 1992, we brought down a 'jastreb' aircraft on Banj Brdo, and damaged another, which crashed around Doboj. We also have six helicopters /shot down/ to our 'count'.

Hadžifejzović: You are the best 'controllers' of the UN resolution banning flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina!

Durić: Just as they adopt resolutions adopted 'up there', so shall we 'down here'.





27 August 1994

On this program, in a broadcast from United Nations Television, you have seen Sergio di Mello and the UNHCR Section Head confirming that Velika Kladuša had been taken without a battle, and, which is more important, without casualties, and that there had been no persecution, no maltreatment, no reason for civilians to leave the town. /Seventeen thousand people did leave, for all that./

With all due respect for the reasons the people Kladuša gave for leaving their city, their villages, such as propaganda, ignorance, fear, taking part in the fighting, and a certain feeling towards the 'Dad of Kladuša' /Fikret Abdić/ we cannot but note:

This crowd of crazed adult refugees is risking the lives of their children, of the elderly, of women, and conducting themselves like a group of spoiled and badly behaved children.

We don't know how Abdić's /propaganda/ machinery managed to seduce them, but we know for sure that never it told them anything about the fate of other Bosniac refugees.

Do they know in Kladuša that 52% of the Bosniac population have been driven from their homes, and that every other Bosniac has been left without a roof over his head?

Durić: Mi imamo već jedan broj dobrovoljaca koji nisu angažovani u Armiji BiH... U Bijeljini /Republika Srpska op.a./ se desio jedan incident gdje su građani srpske nacionalnosti podmetnuli požar u kasarni. Pozivaju nas iz jednog građa koji je pod privremenom srpskom okupacijom-Karadžićevom-i pitaju kako da se uključe... Mi prihvatamo sve koji nisu ukaljali ruke krvlju...

Hadžifejzović: Vi ste komandant jedne specijalne jedinice. To je vojna tajna...

Đurić: Znaju "tamo" koja je to jedinica... Mi smo 28. augusta 1992. godine oborili avion "jastreb" na Banj brdu, drugi oštetili i oko Doboja je pao i on! U ratnom "biltenu" imamo i šest helikoptera "oborenih"!

Hadžifejzović: Vi ste najbolji "kontrolori" UN rezolucija o zabrani letova iznad Bosne i Hercegovine!

Đurić: Kao što je donesena rezolucija "gore", donijet ćemo mi rezoluciju ovdje "dole"!





27. august 1994.

U našem programu ste vidjeli, u emisiji Televizije Ujedinjenih naroda, kako Serđo di Melo i šef ureda UNHCR-a potvrđuju kako je Velika Kladuša osvojena bez borbi i, što je veoma važno, bez žrtava, te da nije bilo nikakvog progona, maltretiranja, razloga da civili napuste ovaj grad. /A ipak je otišlo više od 17.000/.

Uvažavajući sve razloge koji su Kladušane naveli da odu iz svog mjesta, i iz svojih sela, dakle: propagandu, neznanje, strah, učestvovanje u borbama pa čak i izvjesnu dozu emocije prema "kladuškom babi" /Fikretu Abdiću, op.a./ ne možemo a da ne primijetimo:

Zaludena masa odraslih izbjeglica, koja rizikuje živote svoje djece, staraca, žena, ponaša se kao grupa razmažene i nevaspitane djece.

Ne znamo kako ih je Abdićeva /propagandna/ mašinerija zavela, ali znamo da im nikada, sigurno, nije prezentirala podatke o sudbini ostalih bošnjačkih izbjeglica.

Da li u Kladuši znaju da je čak 52% Bošnjaka protjerano sa svojih ognjišta, da je svaki drugi Bošnjak ostao bez krova nad glavom?

Vuk Drašković, Serbian opposition leader, 'banned footage'

A little politics, if indeed we can call this politics.

In a referendum held today, the Serbs from the occupied regions of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have voted against the Contact Group plan. Of course we already know the results. The paradoxic is that the Pale leadership justified its unswerving rejection of this plan to date by claiming ignorance of all its details, and yet still called 'its sector of the Serb nation' to a referendum at which they were asked to answer the question: 'Do you reject the proposed peace plan' – which they haven't a clue about.

Underestimating their own people, though, is one of the major features of Pale's politics.

By way of reminder, yesterday the Parliament of Serbia voted FOR the plan proposed by the Contact Group. All kinds of views were expressed during the parliamentary session. Some people were for Milošević, others for Karadžić, and – unlike everyone else, and in particular "then opposition figures" Koštunica and Đinđić – only Vuk Drašković opened fire on the 'leaders' of the Serb people.

Naturally enough, his 'accusations' against Serbian politics were given no place in the news broadcasts from Belgrade and Pale, so we are going to include a little 'reminder' for them.

Vuk Drašković, leader of the opposition, President of the Serbian Reconstruction Movement, SPO:

Now that we have been thrown into defeat, misery and shame, the same people are appealling for peace!

But how? In their usual rabble-rousing way.

The same television commentators /of TV Serbia/ who have left many mothers without their sons, who sang odes to ethnic cleansing, are now 'advertising' PEACE as in the supreme national interest!

People are humiliated and offended by the fact that those who are most to blame for this won't admit even an iota of responsibility, and that they are arrogantly proclaiming defeat as victory.

Where are the one hundred thousand Serbs who used to live in Slovenia before the war?

Of Croatia's six hundred thousand Serbs only one in ten remains!

Four hundred thousand people have fled from Serbia and Montenegro!

Not even half of us are still in Bosnia and Herzegovina!

Experts assess that the sanctions have so far cost Serbia and Montenegro more than one hundred billion dollars!

It is more than arrogant and hypocritical to call this total collapse a victory.

From a people who, before the war, lived in a single state, we are now reduced to victims of arson and minorities in a gaggle of small countries.

Armies that didn't even exist before the war have defeated the fifth or sixth largest Army in Europe /the JNA/, which is no more.

These are my Charges against the first, and I hope also the last, Serbian 'strategists' responsible for the break-up of the people and the state. . .









Vuk Drašković, lider opozicije Srbije, "zabranjeni snimak".

Malo politike, ako se to politikom uopšte može nazvati.

Srbi na okupiranim dijelovima Republike BiH danas se referendumom izjašnjavaju protiv plana Kontakt grupe. Rezultat se već, naravno, zna. Paradoksalno je to da je "paljansko" rukovodstvo sva svoja dosadašnja odbijanja pomenutog plana obrazložilo navodnim neznanjem svih detalja tog plana, pa ipak postavlja svom dijelu srpskog naroda "referendumsko pitanje: "Odbijate li ponuđeni mirovni plan" - "za koji mi pojma nemamo šta znači"?!

No, upravo potcjenjivanje svog naroda jedna je od glavnih odlika paljanske politike.

Da podsjetimo, srbijanska Skupština je jučer glasala ZA ponuđeni plan Kontakt gupe. Na toj Skupštini se čulo svašta, neko je navijao za Miloševića, neko za Karadžića a za razliku od svih, posebno od Koštunice i Đinđića, jedino je Vuk Drašković osuo paljbu po svim "voždovima" srpskog naroda.

Naravno, njegova "optužnica" protiv srpske politike nije našla mjesto u informativnim emisijama Beograda i Pala pa ćemo ih mi malo "podsjetiti"

Vuk Drašković, lider opozicije, predsjednik Srpskog pokreta obnove:

Sada, kada smo survani u poraz, bedu i sramotu ti isti pozivaju na mir!?

Ali, kako? Na njihov huškački način!

Televizijski komentatori /TV Srbije/ koji su mnoge majke ostavili bez sinova, koji su do juče pevali ode etničkim čišćenjima, sada "reklamiraju" mir kao najveći nacionalni interes! Ljude vreda i ponižava to što glavni krivci ne priznaju uopšte ni delić krivice

i što poraz drsko, osiono proglašavaju za pobedu.

Gde je sto hiljada Srba koliko ih je pre rata živelo u Sloveniji?!

Od šest stotina hiljada Srba u Hrvatskoj, ostalo nas je jedva deset puta manje!

1z Srbije i Crne Gore pobeglo nas je četiristotine hiljada!

Nije nas ni polovina ostala u Bosni i Hercegovini!

Stručnjaci procenjuju da su sankcije do sada nanele štetu Srbiji i Crnoj Gori,

koja premašuje sto milijardi dolara!

Više je nego drsko i licemerno taj opšti slom nazvati pobedom.

Od naroda koji je pre rata živeo u jednoj državi, svedeni smo na pogorelce i manjinu u nekoliko državica.

Vojske, kojih na početku rata uopšte nije bilo, porazile su petu ili šestu vojsku u Evropi /JNA op.a/ koje više nema.

Ovo je optužnica protiv prvih, a nadam se i poslednjih srpskih "stratega" narodnog i državnog rastura...

Ziatan Fazlić Fazla, composer of a song dedicated to the city of Sarajevo

The newspaper Oslobodenje today celebrates its fifty-first anniversary.

Among the features in today's Oslobođenje is a piece about people who left for foreign countries or who stayed here. /Theatre director/ Gradimir Gojer writes, and demonstrates, that the city's best and most valuable artists have stayed here.

This News broadcast also confirms this with its own modest contribution.

Sarajevo's 'social', 'revolutionary' music is confirmation that the 'spirit' of the city is still alive.

Zlatan Fazlić Fazla, a journalist colleague, musician and still more successful song writer, composer of three war hits: 'I am coming back to you, sister', 'Sarajevo will be', 'If you ask me where I am now', is making a free gift to Bosnia of another seven songs as a symbol of the just war of the urban against the rural.

Zlatan Fazlić Fazla: It is social because there are many songs about Old Sarajevo and our pre-war life-style, and many 'images' of our present life-style.

Emir was at war for a long time,

he lost a leg

he lost his dream...

This is mainly a story about my friends, about people that I know, people who have lived through tragedy. . .

A shell took Ćelo's sight, he just sits and listens someone has built a wall inside me my heart is on one side my soul on the other...

It is hard to return mentally and spiritually to some earlier time start thinking as though the war had never happened. Even those who left can't do so. . .

She went for a swim in her black underwear, we watched secretly, hearts pounding...

The point is to tell people who do not know what Sarajevo looked like before, to use this as a means of telling that there was once a different Sarajevo. However, for some people, this is the Sarajevo they saw for the first time. They'll have the wrong impressions. . .

A curving road and a new Opel Record, the Sarajevo record's a hundred wallets a day. . .









Zlatan Fazlić Fazla, kantautor. Pjesme poklon gradu Sarajevu.

"Oslobođenje" danas slavi 51. rođendan.

1 danas "Oslobođenje" piše, između ostalog, o ljudima koji su otišli vani ili ostali ovdje. Gradimir Gojer /pozorišni reditelj op.a./ danas piše i dokazuje da su najbolji i najvrijedniji umjetnici ovog grada ostali u svom gradu.

l ovaj Dnevnik to potvrđuje svojim skromnim prilogom.

Sarajevska "socijalna", "buntovna" muzika potvrđuje da "duh" ovog grada još uvijek živi.

Zlatan Fazlić Fazla, kolega novinar, muzičar i još uspješniji stihoklepac, autor tri velika ratna hita: "Vraćam se tebi, seko", "Sarajevo će biti", "Ako pitaš gdje sam sada" - poklanja Bosni besplatno, džabe, muhte, još sedam svojih pjesama, pravednoj borbi urbanog protiv ruralnog.

Zlatan Fazlić Fazla: Socijalno je utoliko što postoji puno pjesama o nekom starom Sarajevu i načinu života koji smo vodili prije ovog rata i dosta "sličica" iz načina života koji vodimo danas:

"Emir je dugo ratovao, izgubio nogu, izgubio san"...

To je uglavnom priča o mojoj raji, o ljudima koje ja poznajem, koji su doživjeli tragedije...

"Ćeli je bomba uzela vid, samo sjedi i šuti i sluša, a u meni je neko podigo zid, s jedne strane je srce, s druge mi je duša"...

Teško se vratiti i mentalno i duhovno u to neko vrijeme prije i početi razmišljati kao da nije bilo rata. To ne mogu ni oni koji su otišli odavde...

"U cmom vešu ide da se kupa, mi virimo samo a srce nam lupa"...

...Da onim ljudima koji ne znaju kakvo je bilo Sarajevo prije, da im kroz ovaj izraz kažemo da je postojalo neko drugo Sarajevo. Ali za neke ljude je ovo Sarajevo ovako kako su ga oni prvi put upoznali. Imaće krive utiske...

"Krivuda cesta i nov Opel rekord, sto šlaipeka dnevno je sarajevski rekord"...









NEWS TVBIH

Let's say: 'I've cracked up, I can get through a hundred winters like this! They probably don't know what we mean by 'cracked up' or 'a hundred winters'.

I don't think any foreigner can figure us out. . .

I'm still a normal guy, just as full of rage as UNPROFOR meat. . .

People who, say, buy an audio cassette for ten marks, when someone spins them a story that the profits go to help Bosnia, just want to ease their consciences for ten marks. . .

You don't know me or others like me, do what you will, I'll always fall on my feet. . .

8 September 1994

NEWS TVBIH

Pope John Paul II and the Sarajevo speech that never was

Pope John Paul II has not given up his plan to visit Sarajevo.

The Papal Nuncio in Sarajevo, Francesco Monterisi, said that the Pope would come to Sarajevo as soon as conditions permit. Francesco Monterisi gave President Alija Izetbegović the text of the speech that the Pope was to have delivered in Sarajevo.

Today, in his summer residence, Pope John Paul II held a mass that had been intended for Sarajevo. The Holy Father prayed in the Croatian language, or some say that it was Bosnian. The most important thing is that it was understood.

He again emphasized the fact that it was not by chance that the 'fuse of war' which set off World War One had once again been lit in Sarajevo.

Pope John Paul II, Head of the Roman Catholic Church:

'We stand before the Altar around which the entire Church from Sarajevo is gathered. We proclaim the words taught us by Christ, Son of the Living God.

Only He calls God the Father, My Father!

Only He can allow us to talk to God, Our Father.

In praying today, we wish to find everything that may and must be said to God Our Father at this historic moment, here in SARAJEVO.'

Recimo: "Ja sam puko, mogu vako sto zimetina"! Oni vjerovatno ne znaju ni šta je "puko", a kamoli šta je "sto zimetina".

Ne vjerujem da nas može skontat bilo ko sa strane...

"Ja sam eto još uvijek normalan momak, samo što sam prepun bijesa, ko UNPROFOR mesa"...

Ljudi koji /kao/ kupuju neku kasetu za deset maraka za koju se kaže da ide ko fol za pomoć Bosni, žele da umire savjest za deset maraka....

"Ne znaš ti mene ni meni sličnu jaliju, kako god me baciš ja padnem na jaziju"...

08. septembar 1994.

Papa Ivan Pavao Drugi, neodržani govor u Sarajevu

Papa Ivan Pavao Drugi nije odustao od posjete Sarajevu.

Papski nuncij u Sarajevu, Frančesko Monterizi je rekao da će Papa doći u Sarajevo čim se steknu uslovi za posjetu. Frančesko Monterizi je predao predsjedniku Predsjedništva Aliji lzetbegoviću tekst govora koji je Papa trebalo da održi u Sarajevu.

Papa Ivan Pavao Drugi je danas u svojoj ljetnoj rezidenciji održao misu koja je bila namijenjena Sarajevu. Sveti Otac se molio na hrvatskom jeziku, neko kaže na bosanskom. Važno je da se razumjelo.

On je iznova potencirao da nije slučajnost da je ratni fitilj koji je prouzrokovao Prvi svjetski rat, iznova zapaljen u Sarajevu.

Papa Ivan Pavao Drugi, poglavar Rimokatoličke crkve:

"Nalazimo se uz Oltar oko kojeg se okuplja cijela Crkva koja je u Sarajevu. Izgovaramo riječi koje nas je naučio sam Krist, Sin Boga Živoga.

Samo On zove Boga Ocem, Oče Moj!

Samo nas On može ovlastiti da se obraćamo Bogu, Oče naš.

U toj molitvi želimo danas pronaći sve ono što se može i što se mora reći Bogu, našemu Ocu u ovom povijesnom trenutku, ovdje u SARAJEVU."









8 September 1994 NEWS TVBIH

It was logical for the musical rounds of a Sarajevo song that was rearranged and used in the war to end here in Sarajevo.

Based on the musical background to the song 'On the blue sands' from the movie 'Do you remember Dolly Bell', first there came the Zagreb song 'Hey, buddy from Belgrade', and then its Belgrade counterpart 'Hey, buddy from Zagreb',

Now the Sarajevo musicians Sinan Alimanović, Sejo Bajraktarević and Miro Miljković offer their version of the song 'Buddy from Belgrade'. Unlike the Belgrade version, this is just a small Sarajevo exhibition.

Hey, buddy from Belgrade you went to Mujo's place you were a guest at Jure's place they don't want to know you now.

Hey, buddy from Belgrade deep are the lines on your forehead you'll never see Baščaršija or the Adriatic again you'll never go to the seaside again.

Remember, my friend that was your name, your fame 'Crazy for an ideal' it all came from your head,

You'll not rob anyone in lovely Sarajevo nor in Zagreb either we'll come to your funeral.







Bilo je logično da muzički krug jedne sarajevske kompozicije, koja je prearanžirana i upotrijebljena u ratu, završi ovdje u Sarajevu.

Na osnovu muzičke podloge pjesme "Na morskome plavom žalu" iz filma "Sjećaš li se Doli Bel" nastala je zagrebačka pjesma "E moj druže beogradski", a zatim beogradska pjesma "E moj druže zagrebački".

Sada sarajevski muzičari: Sinan Alimanović, Sejo Bajraktarević i Miro Miljković nude svoju verziju "druga beogradskog". Za razliku od beogradske varijante ovo je samo mala sarajevska egzibicija.

E, moj druže beogradski išao si ti kod Muje, gostovao si i kod Jure, neće više ni da čuje.

E, moj druže beogradski na čelu ti teške bore, ni Čaršije ni Jadrana, nećeš više ni na more.

Sjeti se, moj bivši druže svog imena, svoje slave, "Budale za ideale" sve je to iz tvoje glave.

Nećeš nikog ti pljačkati u lijepom Sarajevu, nećeš ni u Zagrebu, bićemo ti na pogrebu.







11 September 1994

The news that extremists from West Mostar have attempted to assassinate the city's European administrator, Hans Koschnik, sounds incredible.

The German mayor's bedroom was hit by an accurately-targeted anti-tank weapon.

At the press conference, Koschnik described it as 'a small shell'.

This probably sounds a little ironic.

If the shell had been fired by the Bosnian Army, accidentally, it would probably have become 'a massive shell'.

28 December 1994

NEWS TVBIH

British General Michael Rose, who always walks with his arms behind his back when overseeing the Bosnian slaughter, had the exceptional honour to be received today by the Bosnian General Atif Dudaković.

General Dudaković today referred to Abdić's troops as the 'Serb Army'.

Dudaković: We don't regard Fikret Abdid's troops as a separate Force. We regard them as part of the Serb Army, because they are under the command of the Serb Army of Krajina, and under the command of Serb Officers.

This is a single, unified army, which has been conducting a war of aggression against our territory.

28 December 1994

NEWS TVBIH

16) In Bosnian the word grozni, pronounced very like the name of the Chechen capital, means 'appall ng', 'horrible'. *Trans*

Headline news the world over is what's happening in a city with a name that could not more accurately reflect its situation – $GROZNYY^{16}$

The mayors of Venice and Sarajevo have today signed a Charter of Brotherhood here in Sarajevo. If you scratch the surface to find the reason for this fraternal love, the answer's simple:

Both cities are threatened by floods.









11. septembar 1994.

Nevjerovatno zvuči informacija da su ekstremisti iz zapadnog dijela Mostara pokušali atentat na evropskog upravitelja ovog grada Hansa Košnika.

Preciznim hicem iz protivtenkovskog oruda pogodena je soba njemačkog gradonačelnika.

Na konferenciji za novinare Košnik je rekao da se radi "o maloj granati". Valjda je ova izjava trebalo da zvuči ironično. Da je granatu ispalila, slučajno, bosanska Armija vjerovatno bi to bila "ogromna granatina".

28. decembar 1994.

Britanski general Majkl Rouz, čovjek koji stalno hoda prekrštenih ruku "na leđima" i tako nadgleda bosansko krvoproliće, danas je imao izuzetnu čast da ga primi lično Atif Dudaković, bosanski general.

General Dudaković je danas pripadnike abdićevih formacija nazvao srpskom vojskom.

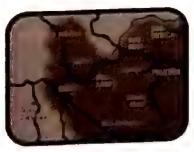
Dudaković: Snage Fikreta Abdića ne smatramo posebnim snagama, nego smatramo dijelom srpske vojske, pošto su pod komandom srpske vojske Krajine, pošto su pod komandom srpskih oficira. Oni predstavljaju jednu jedinstvenu vojsku koja je izvršila agresiju na našu teritoriju.

28. decembar 1994.

Udarna vijest u svijetu je situacija u gradu koji ima nevjerovatno odgovarajuće ime za situaciju u kojoj se nalazi - GROZNI.

Danas su u Sarajevu Povelju o pobratimstvu potpisali gradonačelnici Sarajeva i Venecije. Ako baš čačkate po pitanju kakvi su razlozi ovakve bratske ljubavi, odgovor je jednostavan: I jednom i drugom gradu prijeti - potop.









1 January 1995

Good morning, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a Happy New Year to you.

We begin this New Year, 1995, with a new ceasefire agreement, for a four months' ceasefire It's peace because it's in the general interest, but not peace at any price... The peace agreement was signed yesterday evening in the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina /by A. Izetbegović and Y. Akashi/.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been at war for one thousand and two days.

This is the first News broadcast without our regular war report.

There has been some provocation, but we attribute this to 'New Year celebrations'.

I believe this is the fortieth /ceasefire/ in a row.

We have here with us in the studio our commentator Zvonko Vidović

Zvonko Vidović, editor, commentator: I will try, modestly. . .

This is a criminal war. It is waged only in part with weapons, but is chiefly a genocidal war, in which water supplies, food, medicines, gas, and everything else that is needed to keep civilians, children and sick people alive are cut off.

We must, for all that, believe that Miracles are possible and that there will be a ceasefire. Why miracles?

Mainly because it would be the first time for our Serb assailants to honour their own signatures.

Then UNPROFOR would no longer have to explain that they don't know their right from their left and which is North-West.

It wouldn't be easy even for us - if the ceasefire holds, we just wouldn't believe it! Why a ceasefire? How? Where does it get us? What use is it?

You see, something very important is going on, the promotion of a great victory, the victory of the Fifth Corps /of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army/!

This despite a major political conspiracy around the collapse of the Fifth Corps.

Let us remember that the French Foreign Minister, Alain Juppé, blurted out right within his own ministry that 'the Fifth Corps must be exterminated'. Literally, because it is 'a hotbed of unrest!'

Can you imagine? Combatants fighting to liberate their own people in their own country are a 'hotbed of unrest'.

But this is all in the past now.

Bihać has stayed liberated. The Fifth Corps has won.

It is the first known, proven, major, significant and recorded defeat of Milošević's army of occupation.

This is a war in which we must compel the enemy to accept peace.

Hadžifejzović: May I just interrupt you for a second?









Dobro ti jutro Bosno i Hercegovino i sretna ti Nova godina

U Novu, 95-tu godinu ušli smo sa novim Dokumentom o četveromjesečnom primirju... Dakle, mir zato što je to opći interes ali ne mir po svaku cijenu... Mirovni dogovor potpisan je sinoć u Predsjedništvu BiH. /Potpisnici A. Izetbegović i J. Akaši/

Hiljadu i dva dana traje rat u BiH.

Ovo je prvi Dnevnik u kojem nema ratne hronike /izvještaja sa ratišta/! Bilo je provokacija ali ih potpisujemo pod "novogodišnje slavlje". Ovo je, mislim, četrdeseto /primirje/ po redu. Ovdje u studiju je naš komentator Zvonko Vidović.

Zvonko Vidović, urednik, komentator: Pokušaću skromno...

Ovaj rat, kakav jeste, zlikovnički, on se samo djelomice vodi pucnjavom a u najvećoj mogućoj mjeri genocidno – prekidanjem dotoka vode, hrane, medikamenata, plina, ogrjeva, struje, svega onoga što civilu, djetetu, bolesniku dokida život.

No, ipak moramo da vjerujemo da je čudo moguće, da će se dogoditi primirje.

Zasto cudo?

Prvo, srbijanska agresorska strana prvi put bi poštivala svoj potpis.

Zatim, Unprofor ne bi više morao da objašnjava to, kako mu je nepoznato s koje strane se nalazi desno a s koje sjeverozapad.

A, ni nama ne bi bilo lako-kad bi zavladalo primirje, ne bismo vjerovali!

Zašto, na kojí način, čemu vodí, čemu služi /primírje/?

No, događa se jedna velika važna stvar, promocija jedne pobjede, pobjede Petog korpusa /Armije BiH/! Čak je velika politička urota bila sročena na pad Petog korpusa!

Sjetimo se kako je gotovo nekontrolirano francuski ministar ino-poslova Alan Žipe usred ministarstva ino-poslova Francuske rekao "da se Peti korpus mora likvidirati!

Doslovce tako jer "je on žarište nemira"!

Zamislite, Borci za slobodu svog naroda u svojoj zemlji - "žarište nemira"?!

Sve je to danas prošlost.

Bihać je ostao slobodan. Peti korpus je pobijedio.

To je prvi poznati, verificirani, veliki, značajni, zabilježeni poraz miloševićeve osvajačke vojske.

Mi u ovom ratu moramo neprijatelja primorati na mir.

Hadžifejzović: Može jedna upadica?

Vidović: Da čujem?









1 January 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Vidović: Yes, of course, what is it?

Hadžifejzović: I wish you a Happy New Year, colleague Vidović, and I hope that commentator's heart of yours will function better this year than last.

Vidović: Aha, this heart!

Our soldiers, our heroes are great-hearted, too! They'll hold out.

Hadžifejzović: Although the only thing being drunk in Sarajevo last night was sherbet, we can still say that the atmosphere was pretty cheerful.

5 January 1995

NEWS TVBIH

This is not a party political broadcast, but we continue with a piece about the Party of Democratic Action...

The trial of members of this Party in Sandžak /Serbia, Yugoslavia/ has, with honourable exceptions, been poorly covered by the Bosnian media.

The trial is in fact a political verdict against the entire Bosniac population /of Sandžak/.

Sead Hodžić: The people of Sandžak have set out their views in their /Memorandum on the special status of Sandžak/. All they are seeking is autonomy in certain areas "human rights and their rights as a distinct nation".

Dr. Small Čekić: /Serbia's/ political aim is the extermination and annihilation of all Bosniacs, as part of the Greater Serbia project.

Hadžifejzović: In a way, the 'Russian Sandžakans' – the Chechens – have for the time being brought the Russian military machine to a halt in Groznyy.









O1. January 1995.

Hadžifejzović: Sretna vam Nova godina kolega Vidoviću i da ta "hercika" /srce/ komentatorska ove godine radi bolje nego prošle.

Vidović: Ah, ta hercika!

To je veliko srce koje imaju i naši borci, naši junaci! Izdržaće.

Hadžifejzović: Kako se sinoć u Sarajevu pilo samo šerbe, ipak je bilo prilično veselo....

05. januar 1995.

Ovo nije partijski Dnevnik, ali u nastavku o Stranci demokratske akcije...

Suđenje članovima ove stranke u Sandžaku /Srbija, Yugoslavia/ je u bosanskim medijima, čast izuzecima, loše propraćeno.

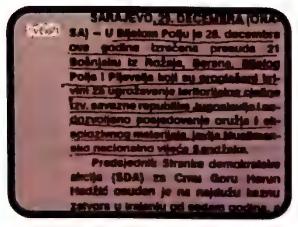
Ovo suđenje je ustvari politička presuda protiv svih pripadnika bošnjačkog naroda /u Sandžaku/.

Sead Hodžić: Sandžaklije ono što žele iskazali su u Memorandumu o specijalnom statusu Sandžaka. Oni traže samo autonomiju u određenim oblastima /ljudska i nacionalna prava/.

Dr. Smail Čekić: Cilj /srbijanske/ politike je istrebljenje i uništenje Bošnjaka u okviru projekta Velike Srbije...

Hadžifejzović: Na neki način "ruske Sandžaklije" - Čečeni - za sada su zaustavili rusku vojnu mašineriju u Groznom koji je ...







9 January 1995 NEWS TVBIH

LIVE Guest Dr Haris Silajdžić, Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic - Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Hadžifejzović: The main topic at today's press conferences and statements by the opposition parties has been the 'misunderstanding' between Radio Television Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or rather between the top people in these two institutions.

Newscaster, off: At the press conference held by the Liberal Party, the party's president, Rasim Kadić. said of the relationship between RTV Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that this, too, reinforces democracy.

At the press conference held by the Liberal Bosniac Organization, Salih Foco said of the clash between the acting head of RTV /Amila Omersoftic/ and the Prime Minister /Haris Silajdžic/ that his party had confidence in the Government and that the Government continued to enjoy its confidence.

The SDP statement issued in connection with the press conference held by the General Manager of RTV Bosnia and Herzegovina /Amila Omersoftić/, at which they were publicly singled out for their principled views, noted that no one had the right to censor the views of parliamentary parties. The SDP retains the right to criticize the Government when it thinks it necessary. The statement also claimed that the statements of Nijaz Skenderagić were based on the facts and on the views of the SDP presidency. The SDP presidency is calling for a debate on the social function and editorial policy of RTV Bosnia and Herzegovina to be held at the first session of the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The SDP will continue to support every journalist ...who strives to uphold the freedom of the press in the spirit of democracy.

Hadžifejzović: The 'misunderstanding' between the Television and the Government is something that no state is immune to, whether at war or not.

What is most important to this institution now is to maintain our professionalism, and only that. We cannot permit ourselves to pass over in silence things that concern us and thereby give others the right to give their own views on and probe into the issues we are saying nothing about.

The people who deserve the greatest credit for maintaining this institution, Radio Television Bosnia and Herzegovina, are its employees. To put it plainly, its journalists, its programme makers, its management, all its employees, who have the full right to claim that they have preserved this institution and that they will stand up for their profession.

Regardless of whether we are a 'state' television, our basic feature, and believe me this 's best for the state too, is open, free, professional journalism. To anyone who wants to support us in this, I say - welcome! The only battle that should be fought through our profession and at our expense is the battle for the truth, for the precise facts.

In this regard, it is the proper professional thing, after hearing statements from the manage ment of RTV Bosnia and Herzegovina these past few days, after hearing what our acting General Manager Amila Omersoftic has to say, that we should also hear, live, the views of Prime Minister Haris Silajdžić.









(UŽIVO) gost dr. Haris Silajdžić, predsjednik Vlade Republike-Federacije BiH

Hadžifejzović: Glavna tema današnjih pres-konferencija i saopštenja opozicionih stranaka je "nes-porazum" između Radio-televizije BiH i Vlade Republike BiH, odnosno istupi prvih ljudi ovih institucija.

Spiker, off: Na pres-konferenciji Liberalne stranke njen predsjednik Rasim Kadić je o odnosu RTV-BiH - Vlada RBIH rekao da se i ovim jača demokratija.

Na pres-konferenciji Liberalno-bošnjačke organizacije Salih Fočo o sporu između v. d. direktora RTV /Amile Omersoftić/ i predsjednika Vlade BiH /Harisa Silajadžića/ je naglasio da je ova stranka dala povjerenje Vlada, a to povjerenje Vlada i danas uživa.

U saopštenju SDP povodom konferencije za štampu generalnog direktora RTVBIH /Amile Omersoftić/ na kojoj su zbog svojih principijelnih stavova javno prozvani, se kaže da niko nema pravo da vrši cenzuru stavova parlamentarnih stranaka.

SDP zadržava pravo kada će kritikovati Vladu.

U saopštenju se navodi da su izjave Nijaza Skenderagića zasnovane na činjenicama i stavovima Predsjedništva SDP-a. Predsjedništvo SDP-a zahtijeva da se na prvoj sjednici Skupštine BiH obavi rasprava o društvenoj funkciji i uređivačkoj politici RTVBIH.

SDP će nastaviti davati podršku svim novinarima... koji nastoje da očuvaju slobodu štampe u duhu demokratske orijentacije.

Hadžifejzović: "Nesporazum" između Televizije i Vlade je nešto od čega nije imuna nijedna država, bila ona u ratu ili ne.

U ovom momentu za ovu kuću najbitnije je očuvanje naše profesije i samo naše profesije. Mi ne smijemo sebi dozvoliti da prešutkujemo stvari koje se tiču nas samih dajući tako s pravom drugima da "tabire" i "čeprkaju" po onome o čemu mi šutimo.

Za očuvanje ove kuće, Radio-televizije Bosne i Hercegovine, najzaslužniji su njeni radnici! Direktno: novinari, realizatori, organizatori, svi radnici koji imaju apsolutno pravo da kažu da su ovu kuću sačuvali i da će stati u odbranu profesije.

Bili mi "državna" televizija ili ne, naša osnovna karakteristika, a to je vjerujte najbolje i za državu, jeste otvoreno, slobodno, profesionalno novinarstvo. I ko u tome želi da nam pomognebujrum!

Preko naše profesije i naših leđa ne smiju se voditi nikakve druge bitke, osim bitke za pravu i tačnu informaciju.

U tom smislu, profesionalno je nakon što smo prošlih dana čuli saopštenja rukovodstva RTV, nakon što smo čuli v.d. generalnog direktora RTV-a Amilu Omersoftić da uživo i direktno čujemo stav premijera Harisa Silajdžića.

Profesija mi nalaže da Vas upoznam da je na današnjem sastanku Deska TV dnevnika, na dnevnom









9 January 1995 NEWS TVBIH

My profession requires me to inform you that at toda/s meeting of the TV News Designer and an the daily editorial, journalists', management and programme-makers' meeting, the process of this lyters editor that you should be a quest on the programme met with unanimous support. The management of RTV Bosnia and Herzegovina was explicitly opposed to the proposal!

Dr Haris Silajdžić, Prime Minister: The talk is now all about the relationship between the Government and the Television. So far this relationship has been one of the Television needing funds, and the Government providing as much as it was able. We allocated more than we allocated to other institutions. However, when I learned that people in the Television were talking about whether the Government should be criticized or not, I reacted.

The Government is answerable to Parliament.

The problem is that at such a difficult time, a time of such bloodshed in the running of Bosnia. we cannot allow ourselves to have an alienated political centre that arrogates to itself the right to do the job of Parliament and the Government.

Television is not the place to talk about support or otherwise for the Government, the place for that is Parliament.

At a time like this when we are unable to obtain books, magazines, journals, when we are ining in the 'Stone Age', the role of Television is important, and is primarily educational.

The Government is working in extremely difficult circumstances, it faces a confidence vote every two or three months in Parliament. So far we have received praise. . . and that is obtained through hard work. It's not /for Television/ to talk about whether to attack the Government. It's very dangerous, and it can't be done by television.

/Amila Omersoftic/ can talk about it as an independent citizen, but to talk about attacking or not attacking the Government at official meetings with the leaders of parliamentary parties - that's noton!

This whole thing, this whole story is clearly a matter of spare time!

People who work twelve or fourteen hours a day simply haven't time for such things.

Hadžifejzović: The way in which the whole affair was brought into the public domain was somewhat surprising, even in war-time. . .

Silajdžić: I should like to see debates about the Government being held in Parliament, and not here. End of story! We have better things to do that squabble with Television. Leave alone what individual people say... not even that. There's simply no view on that, to tell you the truth.

There is only one relationship at stake here: Television has requested a great deal of money from us, we have allocated as much as we could, and we gave it because we can now be seen in Mostar. Believe me, this is the only relationship. What view am I supposed to have? I don't have time for all my own work, let alone to get involved with the Television. But I won't permit anyone to meddle with the Government in this way. Politics belongs in Parliament. Let everyone do his own job, and not politics all the time. Do you understand?

It's only possible when one has plenty of time. I don't.

Hadžifezović: Yesterday and the day before the Sarajevo media, who address these matters with somewhat greater freedom, here I single out Oslobođenje, have put about the hypothesis that there is some deeper political finaigling going on behind this conflict. Is that right?

Silajdžić: There's nothing secret about that. There are people on the Croatian political stage who would like to see someone else as Prime Minister. . . To tell you the truth, I suspect there is some major political wangling going on. After everything that's happened I doubt that the world at large, and not

sastanku uredivačkog, novinarskog, organizatorskog i realizatorskog sastava, prijedlog ovog urednika Dnevnika da budete gost ove emisije jednoglasno podržan. Rukovodstvo RTVBiH je bilo izričito protiv! /op.a/

Dr. Haris Silajdžić, predsjednik Vlade: Sada se govori o odnosu Vlade i Televizije. Do sada je taj odnos bio: Televiziji je trebalo finansijskih sredstava - Vlada je davala koliko je mogla! Izdvojili smo više nego što smo izdvojili za druge kolektive.

Međutim, kada sam saznao da se na Televiziji govori o tome da li Vladu treba kritikovati ili ne, ja sam reagovao!

Vlada odgovara Skupštini!

Problem je u tome što u ovom krvavom i teškom momentu uspravljanja Bosne ne smijemo dozvoliti da imamo otuđene političke centre koji uzimaju za pravo da rade posao Skupštine i Vlade.

O podršci ili ne, podršci Vlade ne može se razgovarati u Televiziji to se radi u Skupštini. U ovom trenutku, kada nam ne pristižu knjige, časopisi, kada živimo u "kameno doba" uloga Televizije je važna, ona je primarno-edukativna.

Vlada radi u teškim uslovima. Vlada se provjerava svaka 2-3 mjeseca u Skupštini. Do sada smo dobijali pohvale... To se postiže teškim radom. Ne može se govoriti "u Televiziji" da li treba napadati Vladu! To je opasno! To praviti od televizije - ne može!

Kao slobodan gradanin /Amila Omersoftić op.a/ može govoriti o tome, ali na zvaničnim sastancima sa liderima parlamentarnih partija govoriti o napadanju ili nenapadanju Vlade - to je nemoguće!

Ovo sve skupa, ova velika priča, očigledno je stvar slobodnog vremena! Nema vremena onaj ko radi 12-14 sati dnevno da se bavi ovim stvarima!

Hadžifejzović: Način na koji je cijeli slučaj iznijet u javnost je nešto zaista iznenađujuće čak i za ratne okolnosti...

Silajdžić: Ja bih volio da se o Vladi raspravlja u Skupštini, a ne ovdje. Završeno!

Mi imamo drugog posla od sukoba sa Televizijom. Ostavite šta ljudi govore, individualno neka, ne postoji čak ni to! Nikakav odnos tu ne postoji, iskreno vam kažem.

Postoji samo ovaj odnos: Televizija je tražila od nas toliko novca, onoliko koliko smo mogli, dali smo, a dali smo, zato se danas vidimo u Mostaru. Vjerujte, izvan toga nema nikakvog drugog odnosa. Kakav bih ja sada odnos imao?

Nemam vremena da radim svoj posao a kamoli da se bavim Televizijom.

Ali,ne dozvoljavam da se neko bavi Vladom na taj način. Politika u Skupštinu!

Idemo svako svoj posao radit a ne vječno - politika! Razumijete?

To može ako se ima puno vremena. Ja ga nemam.

Hadžifejzović: Juče i prekjuče su sarajevski mediji, koji su se malo slobodnije bavili ovom temom, izdvajam "Oslobođenje", lansirali tezu da se iza ovog sukoba igraju neke dublje političke igre. Da li je to tačno?

Silajdžić: To nije neka politička tajna. Ima ljudi na hrvatskoj političkoj sceni koji bi htjeli da vide nekog drugog na mjestu predsjednika Vlade... Iskreno Vam kažem, ja sumnjam u neke velike političke kombinacije. Nakon svega sumnjam da uopšte i svijet, ne samo mi, ima neke kombinacije koje

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just ourselves, have some long-term plan, something to take effect over five or ten years. I don't believe this any more. In my view, the whole thing is ad hoc, and I think that the interests of various groups are adapted to meet changing circumstances.

Hadžifejzović: How do you explain the fact that this clash is between the General Manager of this institution and the Prime Minister, people who are both very senior in the Party for Democratic Action /SDA/, the ruling party. Are there those within the SDA itself who would like /to see someone else take your place/?

Silajdžić: To tell you the truth, other people run the party, I don't have the time myself. I do what I can in Government, working twelve to fourteen hours a day, and I don't have any disagreements with anyone /in the party/, especially not what you might call personal conflicts, personal views.

There is no personal view, above all. Nor do I have time to go round talking about anyone, whoever it may be.

I was late getting here, even, because I had work to finish.

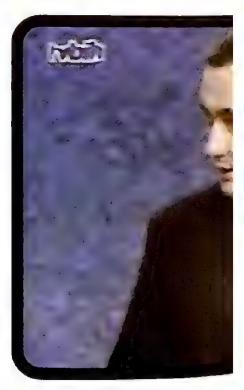
There are no personal views, though naturally there are varying opinions.

Hadžifejzović: This 'misunderstanding' began very bitterly both verbally and in the media. We now see that you have very skilfully 'dropped the ball'.

Silajdžić: How people react is a matter of taste. Do you know what's the most important? That things are better for us than last year, that we are much stronger than we were, that we are now, as the internationals say, both a military and a political factor, that nothing can be resolved without us, and that we are running Bosnia.

Those are the things that matter, not what someone thinks about someone else.





bi trebalo da sežu 5-10 godina unaprijed. Ja u to više ne vjerujem. Ja mislim da postoje ad hoc sit lactje i da se interesi pojedinih grupa prilagodavaju određenim situacijama.

Hadžifejzović: Kako objašnjavate činjenicu da se radi o sukobu generalnog direktora ove kuce i Premijera, ljudi koji su u samom vrhu Stranke demokratske akcije "SDA". vladajuce stranke. Da li u samoj SDA ima takvih težnji o kojima ste govorili /da budete smijenjeni/?

Silajdžić: Iskreno Vam kažem, strankom se bave neki drugi ljudi, ja za to nemam vremena. Ja radim u Vladi koliko mogu, to je 12-14 sati dnevno i ni sa kim tamo u stranci^{*} nemam sukob. Pogotovo ne ovo što se kaže lični sukob, lični odnos.

Ne postoji nikakav lični odnos prije svega! Niti imam vremena da ja obilazim i razgovaram o nekome, bilo kome.

Ja sam evo i ovdje kod vas zakasnio zato što sam imao posla.

Ne postoje lični odnosi, naravno postoje različita mišljenja...

Hadžifejzović: Ovaj "nesporazum" je vrlo žestoko verbalno i medijski počeo. Svjedoci smo da ste upravo vješto "spustili loptu".

Siljadžić: Pitanje je ukusa, kako ko reaguje. Znate li šta je najvažnije?

Da je nama bolje nego što je bilo prošle godine, da smo mnogo jači nego što smo bili, da smo, kako kažu stranci, i vojni i politički faktor, da se bez nas ne može odlučivati i da se Bosna uspravlja.

To su važne stvari, a ne šta ko misli o kome.





13 January 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The leading role in the News tonight is being taken by General Michael Rose, who made yet another gaffe before quitting his post as Commander of the UN troops in our country. He permitted the enemy /liaison/ officer responsible for the shelling of Tuzla /Colonel Slavko Gužvić/ to be brought to Tuzla airport.

General Rose visited our editorial office today and consistently evaded giving an answer. Asked whether the 'blue routes' would be opened up and whether the enemy's incursions from Kraiina against Velika Kladuša would cease, Rose replied that one never knows in the Balkans, and that in his view it is not Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state that is the victim of this war, but only individuals.

Asked whether, in view of such offensive statements, he expected to have the kind of send-off appropriate to the senior officer of such a force at the conclusion of his mandate, General Rose replied that he was not the protocol type, but it was obvious that he was taken aback by the news that he didn't deserve any kind of ceremony when leaving Bosnia.

The British officer remained true to the first statement he gave when he arrived in Sarajevo; that is, he is a great lover of peace at any price. It's obvious he is very pleased with himself as a result.

17 January 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Paddy Ashdown, leader of the British Liberal Democratic Party, visited Sarajevo today. This is Paddy Ashdown's seventh visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina. He is a man who has consistently spoken up for the Bosnian cause from the very start of the aggression.

17 January 1995

NEWS TVBIH

We have to disappoint our younger viewers by telling them that the film and the book 'Lassie Come Home' are not based on a true story.

But this Bosnian version of the story is authentic.

Nada Ridić, reporter: This is thirteen-year-old /Hungarian sheepdog/ Lassie, who travelled, how only he knows, the 120 kilometres from Ključ to Travnik and there found his owner /a displaced person two and a half years later/.









U glavnoj ulozi večeras u Dnevniku je general Majkl Rouz, koji je prije odlaska sa funkcije komandanta UN-a trupa u našoj zemlji napravio još jedan "gaf".

Dozvolio je da se na Tuzlanski aerodrom dovede agresorski oficir /za vezu/, odgovoran za granatiranje Tuzle /pukovnik Slavko Gužvić op.a./

General Rouz je danas posjetio našu redakciju i ostao dosljedan u izbjegavanju odgovora. Na naše pitanje da li će "plavi putevi" biti otvoreni i hoće li prestati napadi agresora iz Krajine na Veliku Kladušu, Rouz je odgovorio da se na Balkanu ništa ne zna dodajući da on smatra da u ovom ratu Bosna i Hercegovina kao država nije žrtva već da su žrtve samo pojedinci.

Na naše pitanje: "Da li zbog ovakvih uvredljivih izjava očekuje da uopšte bude ispraćen na kraju mandata kako dolikuje jednom zapovjedniku tolike vojske", general Rouz je rekao da ne pati od protokola ali je očigledno da je ostao zatečen informacijom da nije zaslužio nikakvu svečanost na odlasku iz Bosne.

Britanski oficir je ostao vjeran svojoj prvoj izjavi koju je dao po dolasku u Sarajevo. On je, naime, neizmjerni ljubitelj mira po svaku cijenu. I očigledno je sasvim zadovoljan zbog toga.

> 17. januar 1995. DNEVNIK TV BIH

Danas je u Sarajevo došao predsjednik britanske Liberalno-demokratske stranke Paddy Ashdown. Ovo je, inače, sedma posjeta Paddy Ashdowna Bosni i Hercegovini, posjeta gospodina koji konzistentno zastupa bosansku stvar od samog početka agresije.

17. januar 1995.

Moramo razočarati naše najmlađe gledaoce informacijom da knjiga i film "Lesi se vraća kući" nije istinita!

Naime, bosanska varijanta te priče je vjerodostojna.

Nađa Riđić, reporter: Ovo je trinaestogodišnji pas Lesi /mađarski ovčar/ koji je na samo njemu poznat način u ovim ratnim uvjetima došao iz 120 kilometara udaljenog Ključa u Travnik i u njemu pronašao svog vlasnika "izbjeglicu" /Nakon dvije i po godine/!!!









11 Febrauary 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Sarajevo today saw the formation of the Helsinki Human Rights Committee, one of the most influential international human rights organizations and a reliable barometer of democracy. It was high time for this committee to have a branch in a country where human rights are not only not respected, but are being eradicated.

14 Febrauary 1995 NEWS TVBIH

The Hague Tribunal yesterday announced the first names of those indicted for war crimes, while today the Tribunal announced that wanted notices had been issued for those indicted. Coincidence or not, news came in from Germany today that the Hamburg police had arrested a Serb suspected of genocide.

From Pale comes a statement by Radovan that could be viewed as an indirect response to the Hague indictments:

'The Serbs would never have gone to war if Europe had not incited them to a Christian war, a missionary war even, against Islam.'

14 Febrauary 1995 NEWS TVBIH

This should be the end of the News, but our crew on duty who have just returned from the field have another item of news, an incident in Dobrinja, where police stopped one of the blue helmets' APCs with a Russian crew. Our reporter who was on the spot at the time brings us this.

Melisa Dedović, reporter: Police carrying out one of their regular checks found a Russian stowaway in a UN APC with a Russian crew. The stowaway is one Dr Vojin B., a pediatrician at the Military Hospital in Dobrinja.

Hadžifejzović: The APC was not opened until the UN Military Police turned up. How did the Russian soldiers react, do you have their names?

Dedović: Yes, two sergeants, Novikov and Becevic.

Hadžifejzović: Sergeants? That's an English word, hm... This isn't the first time, nor is it even of particular interest that someone's trying to get out of Sarajevo. But what's interesting about this case is that UN blue he mets, part of the mission of this international organization, are trafficking in human beings like this.









11. februar 1995.

U Sarajevu je danas formiran Helsinški komitet za ljudska prava, jedna od najuticajnijih svjetskih organizacija za zaštitu ljudskih prava i pouzdani barometar demokratije. Bilo je krajnje vrijeme da ovaj komitet ima svoju "ispostavu" u zemlji gdje ljudska prava ne da se ne poštuju, već se zatiru.

14. februar 1995.

Haški sud je juče saopštio prva imena osumnjičenih za ratne zločine, danas je sud saopštio da je za optuženima izdata potjernica. Koincidencija ili ne, ali iz Njemačke danas dolazi vijest da je njemačka policija u Hamburgu uhapsila jednog Srbina osumnjičenog za genocid.

Sa Pala... dolazi Radovanova izjava koja se, inače, tumači kao indirektan odgovor na hašku potjernicu: "Srbi ne bi nikada zaratili da ih Evropa nije gurnula u hrišćanski, čak misionarski rat protiv islama".

14. februar 1995.

Trebalo je da odjavimo ovu emisiju ali naša dežurna ekipa, koja se upravo vratila sa terena ima informaciju više. Radi se o događaju koji se večeras desio na Dobrinji. Tamo su pripadnici MUP-a BiH zaustavili jedan transporter "plavih šljemova" sa ruskom posadom. I šta se desilo, pitamo našu reporterku koja je bila na licu mjesta.

Melisa Dedović, reporter: Pripadnici MUP-a u jednoj od svojih redovnih kontrola u transporteru UN-a sa ruskom posadom pronašla je skriveno lice srpske nacionalnosti. Radi se o doktoru Vojinu B. koji je pedijatar u Vojnoj bolnici na Dobrinji.

Hadžifejzović: Transporter nije otvoren dok nije došla Vojna policija UN-a? Kako su reagovali ruski vojnici, imaš li to njihova imena?

Dedović: Da. To su dva Serganta. Novikov i Becevic.

Hadžifejzović: Sergant? Mi to na engleskom čitamo sardžent, narednik, hm...

Ovo nije prvi put, niti je toliko čak zanimljivo što čovjek pokušava da ode iz Sarajeva. Ali je zanimljiva u ovom slučaju misija pripadnika "plavih šljemova" UN-a koji pod firmom Svjetske organizacije na ovakav način trguju ljudima.









23 Febrauary 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Dedovic: He gave as the reason for his wanting to leave that he wants to go to Belgrade to see his children, who are sick...

Hadžifejzović:

We have received from an associate 'on the other side' original military documents containing orders, reports and instructions from the Serb Army headquarters to their troops on the ground.

A document dating from 5 December last year, a report from the Office of Morale of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps on the situation in the Bihać area, says:

'Unfortunately, there have been many casualties on our side, the result above all of irresponsibility, caprice and the cowardice of individuals... It has been shown once again that the outcome is worst and losses are greatest when there is an unplanned and disorganized withdrawal. Defeat is hardest when the enemy does not put up a dignified resistance.'

We have also received from our associate, this time by fax, further documents the content of which we shall make known when we have confirmed their authenticity.

23 Febrauary 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The agreement between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council or HVO, known as the Military Peace Accord, was signed exactly one year ago.

Something occurred that very few had expected.

It has turned out to be the firmest of all the 'federal agreements' and the only one that has never seriously been called into question.

Whiat is more, the agreement led to a joint victory in Kupres.

1 March 1995

NEWS TVBIH

A TV BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA NEWS SPECIAL 1 March 1995, Bosnia and Herzegovina Independence Day The third anniversary of the historic decision of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, expressed by referendum, in favour of this country's independence, has been celebrated, modestly but with a grity, in the capital city of this country, in the 'safe areas', in free territory and on the front lines.

More than three million people from all Bosnia's peoples voted on 1 March 1992 for their own country, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.









Dedović: On /doktor/ je naveo razlog svog odlaska. Da želi otići u Beograd kako bi vidio svoju djecu koja su bolesna...

Hadžifejzović:

Od našeg "saradnika sa druge strane" dobili smo originalne vojne dokumente u kojima se prenose naredbe, obavještenja i upute štaba srpske vojske jedinicama na terenu.

U dokumentu od 5. 12. prošle godine u izvještaju Uprave za moral Sarajevsko-romanijskog korpusa o situaciji na bihaćkom ratištu, kaže se:

"Nažalost, bilo je dosta žrtava na našoj strani koje su posljedica pre svega neodgovornosti, samovolje i kukavičluka posljedinaca... Još jednom se pokazalo da su najteže posledice i gubici kada se vrši neplansko i neorganizovano povlačenje.

Poraz je najteži kada se neprijatelju ne pruži dostojanstven otpor."

lnače, od saradnika smo dobili, ali telefaxom, kopije još nekih dokumenata čiji sadržaj ćemo objaviti kada potvrdimo njihovu vjerodostojnost, odnosno originalnost.

23. februar 1995.

Prije tačno godinu dana potpisan je dogovor između Armije Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatskog vijeća obrane, nazvan Mirovni vojni sporazum.

Desilo se ono što je zaista malo ko očekivao.

To je /pokazalo se/ najčvršći od svih "federalnih dogovora" i jedini koji nijednom nije došao u ozbiljniju krizu!!!

Šta više, Sporazum je doveo do zajedničke pobjede na Kupresu...

01. mart 1995.

SVEČANI DNEVNIK TVBIH 01.mart 1995. - DAN NEZAVISNOSTI BIH

U glavnom gradu ove zemlje i u "zaštićenim zonama", i na slobodnim teritorijama i na frontu, skromno, ali dostojanstveno, obilježena je treća godišnjica historijske odluke naroda Bosne i Hercegovine, iskazana na referendumu, da ova zemlja i može i mora biti nezavisna.

Preko tri miliona ljudi svih bosanskih naroda glasalo je 1. marta 1992. godine za svoju zemlju, Republiku Bosnu i Hercegovinu.









1 March 1995

It is fair to say, without exaggeration, without euphoria, pomposity or grand words, that the referendum in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the country's independence was a key turning-point in its history, one that, after all these Kingdoms, Empires, Sandžaks and Provinces that have ridden rough-shod around and over Bosnia, has definitively determined the future of this country.

The battle for independence, of course, is still being fought.

To all those who regard themselves as citizens of this country, as independent Bosnians, we extend our congratulations on this Independence Day, with the earnest wish that we may soon also be celebrating this country's Liberation Day, the only celebratory Day lacking in the Bloodstained Bosnian Calendar.

4 March 1995

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE Senad Kamenica, reporter, first TV footage from the Hague War Crimes Tribunal

Hadžifejzović: Our colleague Senad Kamenica has just returned from the Hague with exclusive TV footage on the International War Crimes Tribunal.

Senad, despite all the credible information and events that corroborate claims that the tribunal is serious about its task, it seems to me that all of us here are somewhat dubious of the justice being dispensed in the West for the crimes perpetrated in our country.

Kamenica: I share that view. However, this is a very serious institution, and I feel safe in saying that it will do everything needed to justify its existence.

Justice Goldstone, regarded world-wide as having a brilliant legal mind, became known as a judge of the Appeals Court of South Africa when, at a time when apartheid was at its height, he stood up for the rights of the black population, accusing whites who had violated the laws of civilization.

Further evidence that here is a man who will do his job unflaggingly comes from a feature broadcast on CNN, in which Chief Prosecutor Goldstone was asked whether a potential political so ution /for which Serbia was lobbying/ calling for an amnesty for war crimes will influence the Tribunal.

Justice Goldstone replied: There will be no amnesty.

When I asked him whether those who gave the orders will also face trial for crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Justice Goldstone replied:

Richard Goldstone, Chief Prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal:

We first have to complete the investigations and make a case against the people who gave the orders. They are the most to blame.

In this office we regard it as our primary duty, our priority, to bring to justice the top people, the people who gave the orders that led to the crimes being committed.









Bez ikakvih napuhavanja, bez euforije, preuveličavanja i velikih riječi, slobodno možemo reći da je bosanskohercegovački referendum za nezavisnost ključna historijska prekretnica koja je definitivno, nakon svih kraljevina, carevina, sandžaka i provincija koje su protutnjale Bosnom i iznad Bosne, odredila budućnost ove Zemlje.

Bitka za nezavisnost, naravno, još uvijek se vodi.

Svima koji se osjećaju građanima ove zemlje, dakle, nezavisnim Bosancima, čestitamo ovaj dan sa iskrenom željom da ubrzo proslavimo i Dan Oslobođenja ove Zemlje, jedini svečani Datum koji nedostaje u Krvavom Bosanskom Kalendaru.

> 04. mart 1995. DNEVNIK TV BIH,

(UŽIVO) Senad Kamenica, reporter, prvi TV snimci, Den Haag, sud za ratne zločine

Hadžifejzović: Kolega Senad Kamenica upravo se vratio iz Den Haaga sa ekskluzivnim TV-materijalom o radu Međunarodnog suda za ratne zločine.

Senade, i pored uvjerljivih informacija i događaja koji potvrđuju ozbiljnost ovog suda,mi ovdje nekako svi, čini mi se, sumnjamo u pravdu krojenu na Zapadu za zločine u našoj zemlji.

Kamenica: Isto mišljenje díjelio sam i ja. Međutim, radi se o vrlo ozbiljnoj instituciji koja će, to smijem sa sigurnošću tvrditi, sve učiniti da opravda svoje postojanje.

lnače, sudija Goldston, koji se u svijetu smatra briljantnim pravnim umom, postao je poznat kao sudija na Apelacionom sudu Južne Afrike kada je u vrijeme najjačeg apratheida stao u zaštitu crnačkog stanovništva, tužeči bijelce koji su kršili civilizacijske zakone.

Da se radi o čovjeku koji će istrajati na ovom poslu svjedoči i jedan prilog objavljen na CNNи и kojem je tužiocu Goldstonu postavljeno pitanje: Hoće li neko potencijalno političko rješenje /za koje navija Srbija/ i u kojem ova zahtijeva amnestiju za počinjene zločine, uticati na rad suda?

Sudija Goldston je odgovorio: "Nema amnestije!"

Na moje pitanje: "Hoće li za počinjene zločine u Bosni i Hercegovini biti kažnjeni nalogodavci", sudija Goldston je odgovorio:

Ričard Goldston, prvi tužilac Haškog tribunala:

Prvo treba završiti ispitivanja i sastaviti dokumentaciju protiv osoba koje su izdavale naređenja. Oni su najviše krivi.

U ovoj kancelariji mi smatramo da je naša prva dužnost, naš prioritet, izvesti pred lice pravde ljude na vrhu, one koji su izdavali naređenja koja su dovela do počinjenih zločina.









4 March 1995 NEWS TVBIH

On the first day of Bajram (Eid), the aggressor forces opened fire on Marindvor. The Sarajevo Agency Pool, SAP, filmed the wounding and rescue of our fellow citizen Faruk Sabanović.

If nothing else, the Serb aggressors could at least have agreed to themselves, the Bosnians and the world at large that yesterday and today there be a ceasefire as regards people who were for the most part visiting graves. They could thus have 'agreed' to tnemselves, the Bosnians and the world, even if only by way of a propaganda gesture, that the 'bloody Bajram feast' of three years ago was merely coincidence.

But even on this occasion they were unable to queil their inexplicable hatred. This time, too. the aggressor proved that in this war there are no coincidences.

What is more, and this too is no coincidence, on the first day of Bajram the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade described the treacherous killing of ten thousand Sarajevans as a 'deception, staged' so that sanctions against Serbia would be introduced.

In Bosnia it is the custom. at Eid to visit the graves of laved ones

7 March 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The persecution and terror on the part of the official Serbian authorities against the Bosniacs of the Sandžak are part of the genocidal plan to exterminate the Bosniacs from the Balkans, said Prime Minister Haris Silajdžić today at a special session of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina dedicated to the position of the Bosniacs in Sandžak and Montenegro.

Silajdžić: The Bosniacs of Serbia and Montenegro have never given the slightest cause for being treated so brutally and harshly. They were a model of tolerance and of the art of common living with their Serb and Montenegrin neighbours.

They could continue to be so in the future if their fundamental rights are guaranteed: the right to life, the right to security of persons and property, the right to national identity, the right to profess their own faith.

The State of Bosnia and Herzegovina has never raised the question of the territorial integrity of Serbia and Montenegro in regard to Sandžak. We respect the internationally recognized borders of our neighbouring countries. We have no pretensions to interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

This is a matter of standing up for the universal principles expressed in the instruments of international law, but it has to do with the right of a national group that is concerned for elements of its own people.

The Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina insists that measures be taken to prevent the continuation of genocide against members of the Bosniac people.

Senad Slatina, reporter: One of the most important decisions of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina was that it would advocate the autonomy of Sandžak. This is a principled issue of the outcome of the crisis in former Yugoslavia - no one may have the right to deprive other peoples of what they demand for the members of their own people.









Agresor je na prvi dan Bajrama otvarao vatru po Marindvoru.

Ranjavanje i spašavanje našeg sugrađanina Faruka Šabanovića zabilježile su kamere Sarajevo Agency poola, SAP-a.

Srpski agresor je juče i danas mogao, ako ništa drugo, ono da barem slaže i sebe, i Bosance, i svijet, pa da se "primiri" i ne puca po ljudima koji su uglavnom obilazili groblja. Mogao je tako, barem propagandnim gestom, da "slaže" i sebe i Bosance i svijet da je "krvavi bajramski pir" koji se desio prije tačno tri godine samo koincidencija.

No, ni ovoga puta se ne objašnjiva mržnja nije mogla sakriti, i ovaj put je agresor dokazao da u njihovom ratu nema slučajnosti.

Šta više, na prvi dan Bajrama Srpska pravoslavna crkva iz Beograda, a ni to nije slučajnost, deset hiljada mučki ubijenih Sarajlija naziva "insceniranom podvalom" kako bi se uvele sankcije Srbiji?!

07. mart 1995.

Progoni i teror koje vrši zvanična srbijanska vlast u Sandžaku prema Bošnjacima dio su genocidnog plana za potpuno uništenje Bošnjaka na Balkanu - rekao je danas na posebnoj sjednici Vlade BiH, posvećenoj položaju Bošnjaka u Sandžaku i Crnoj Gori, premijer Haris Silajdžić.

Silajdžić: Bošnjaci u Srbiji i Cmoj Gori nikada ni na koji način nisu dali povoda za tako brutalan i surov odnos prema njima. Oni su na tim prostorima bili primjer tolerancije i umijeća zajedničkog života sa svojim komšijma Srbima i Cmogorcima.

Oni to mogu biti i ubuduće ako im se obezbijede osnovna prava: pravo na život, pravo na ličnu i imovinsku sigurnost, pravo na nacionalni identitet, pravo da ispovijedaju svoju vjeru.

Država Bosna i Hercegovina u vezi sa Sandžakom nikada nije otvorila pitanje teritorijalnog integriteta Srbije i Crne Gore. Mi respektujemo međunarodne priznate granice susjednih zemalja. Mi ne pretendujemo da se umiješamo u unutrašnja pitanja drugih zemalja.

Ovdje se radi o zaštiti univerzalnih principa koji su izraženi kroz akte međunarodnog prava, ali se radi o pravu matice koja se brine o dijelovima svoga naroda.

Vlada BiH insistira na preduzimanju mjera kojim će se spriječiti dalja realizacija genocida nad pripadnicima bošnjačkog naroda.

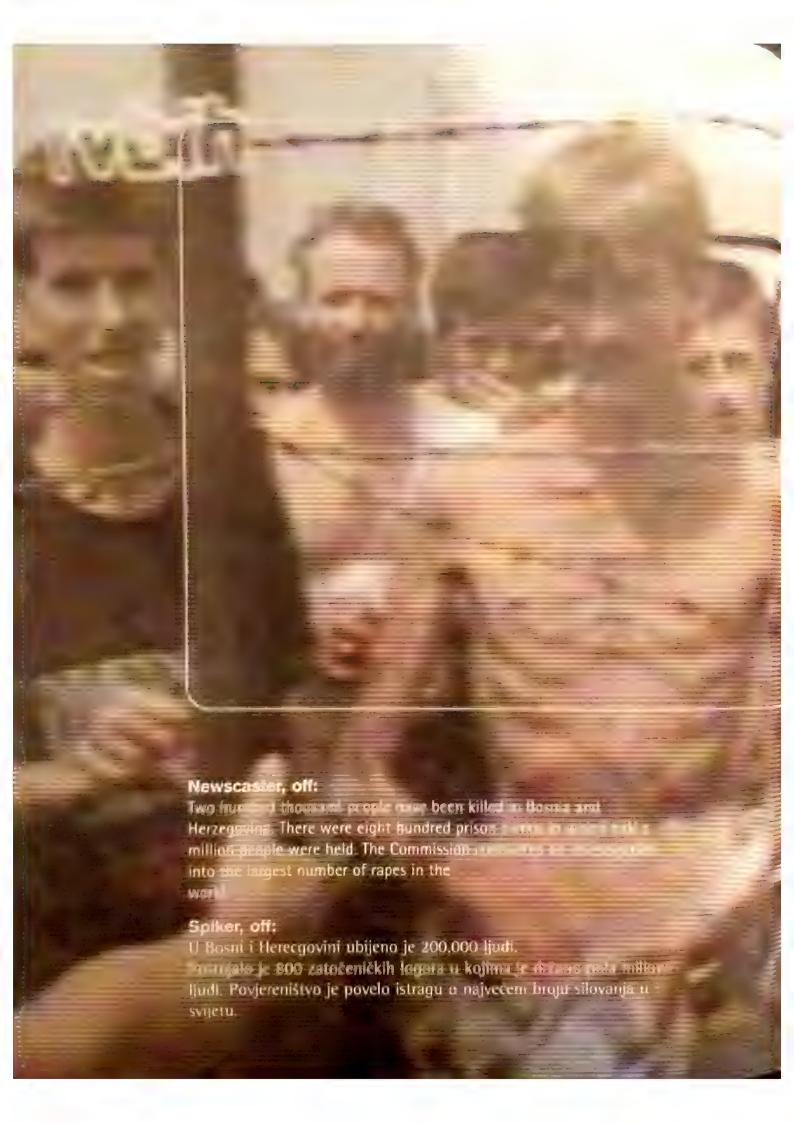
Senad Slatina, reporter: Kao jedan od najvažnijih zaključaka Vlade izdvojeno je da će se Vlada BiH zalagati za autonomiju Sandžaka.To je principijelno pitanje raspleta krize na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije – niko ne može imati pravo da drugim narodima uskrati ono što traži za pripadnike sopstvenog naroda.

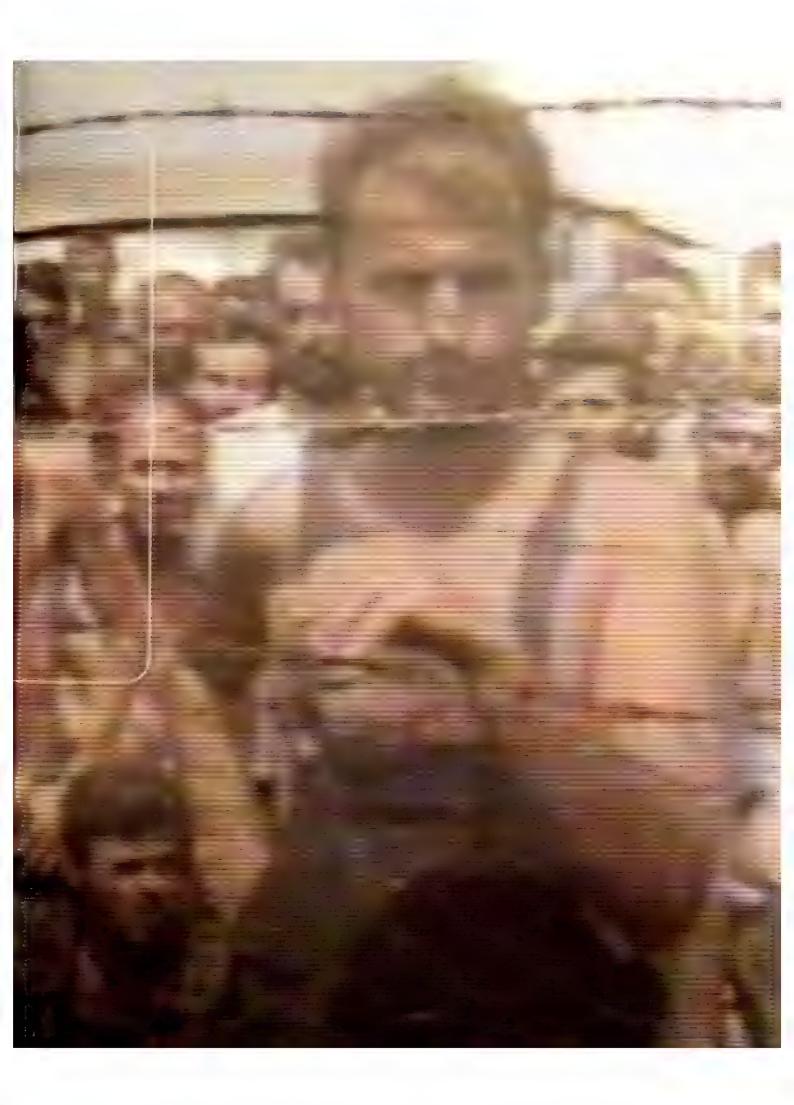












4 April 1995 NEWS TVBIH

Our country will be represented at the fortieth Eurovision Song Contest, to be held in Ireland, by Sarajevo's legendary Davorin Popović, a man with a very professional nickname - Singer.

If anyone thinks that this is the peak of his career, we have learned from an extremely credible source that they are mistaken.

He's only just beginning.

5 April 1995 NEWS TVBIH

On 5 April 1992, 'Serb terrorists', as we called them then, opened fire from the windows of the Holiday Inn and from Vraca on the Vrbanja Bridge and Parliament square, as the start of 'assuring' us that terrorism is only one of their 'performances', and that this was a case of overt aggression against the sovereign Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Even before Suada Dilberović was killed on 5 April, many Sarajevans had already been killed on the surrounding hills, but her youth, beauty and defiance made her the symbol of the First Victim of the war in Sarajevo.

In his message on the third anniversary of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Pope John Paul II said today in St Peter's Square:

'The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the greatest tragedy in the history of Europe since the end of the Second World War. At this time of suffering, I call upon you to join in sympathy with our brothers and sisters in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who are still suffering because of this unjust war, that has brought so much pain and death.'

The horrors that Bosnia and Herzegovina has endured are also corroborated by a report from a UN Special Commission, led by UN expert Bassiouni, to be officially released by UN headquarters in New York at the end of April.

Interestingly, the Commission's investigations were halted by the UN administration, allegedly because its findings did not 'comply' with the international community's Bosnia policy, but also because the bureaucrats were shocked by the appalling facts the Commission had uncovered.

So the job will not be completed, but Mr Bassiouni has made his findings public because, as he says, he 'remained aghast at the widespread suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina in such a relatively short period of time.' The international experts' report states:

Newscaster, off:

Two hundred thousand people have been killed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There were eight hundred









04. mart 1995.

Na četrdesetom takmičenju za "Pjesmu Evrovizije" u Irskoj, našu zemlju će predstavljati sarajevska legenda Davorin Popović, čovjek sa vrlo profesionalnim nadimkom - Pjevač.

Onima koji misle da je ovo vrhunac njegove karijere, nudimo iz povjerljivih izvora informaciju da nisu u pravu.

On je tek počeo.

05. april 1995.

Petog aprila 1992 godine, pucnjima sa prozora "Hollday Inna" i sa Vraca po mostu Vrbanja i po skupštinskom platou "srpski teroristi", kako smo ih tada zvali, počeli su nas "ubjeđivati" da je terorizam samo jedan od oblika njihovog "nastupa", te da se radi o otvorenoj agresiji na suverenu Republiku BiH.

Prije nego je petog aprila ubijena Suada Dilberović, ubijeno je mnogo Sarajlija po okolnim brdima, ali su njena mladost, ljepota i prkos postali simbol prve žrtve rata u Sarajevu. U podsjećanju na treću godišnjicu rata u Bosni i Hercegovini papa Ivan Pavao Drugi je danas na Trgu Svetog Petra rekao:

"Konflikt u Bosni i Hercegovini je najveća tragedija u historiji Evrope od završetka Drugog svjetskog rata. U ovo vrijeme stradanja pozivam vas da se približite našoj braći i sestrama u Bosni i Hercegovini koji i dalje pate zbog nepravednog rata koji je nanio mnogo bola i smrti."

Kakva strahota je zadesila Bosnu i Hercegovinu potvrđuje izvještaj Specijalne komisije UN-a koju je predvodio ekspert UN-a Basijuni, a koji će zvanično biti objavljen u New Yorku, sjedištu UN-a, krajem aprila.

Zanimljivo, istragu ove Komisije je zaustavila administracija UN-a, naravno zbog "nesklada" otkrivenih podataka sa politikom međunarodne zajednice prema Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i zbog šokiranosti birokrata stravičnim podacima koje otkriva ovo povjereništvo.

Dakle, posao neće biti završen, ali ono što je otkrio gospodin Basijuni je objavio, jer je, kako kaže "ostao zapanjen opštim stradanjima u Bosni i Hercegovini u relativno kratkom razdoblju". U izvještaju međunarodnih eksperata se kaže:

Spiker, off: U Bosni i Hercegovini ubijeno je 200.000 ljudi. Postojalo je 800 zatočeničkih logora u kojima je držano pola miliona ljudi. Povjereništvo je povelo istragu o najvećem broju silovanja u svijetu.









5 April 1995

NEWS TVBIH

prison camps in which half a million people were held.

The Commission conducted an investigation into the largest number of rapes in the world.

More than sixteen hundred cases /of rape/ were investigated.

The UN has identified 151 mass graves containing from five to three thousand bodies.

Bassiouni has emphasized the fact that ethnic cleansing was not the result of chaos but a formula that extended from Foča, Goražde and Srebrenica to Brčko, Banja Luka and Bihać.

5 April 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The new British Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the second to serve here, His Excellency Brian Hopkinson, introduced an entirely new note to the usual formalities when presenting his credentials to President Izetbegović: /he spoke in Bosnian/.

Brian Hopkinson, Ambassador of Great Britain:

'My Government's efforts on behalf of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been demonstrated in various ways. With the lives of our soldiers serving in UNPROFOR we are helping to save lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina... The British Ministry for overseas aid has a leading role in keeping the Bosnian people supplied with food... I have come to a city that is still dependent on humanitarian aid, that is still under enemy fire...

This is unacceptable to modern Europe.'

6 April 1995

NEWS TVBIH

In today's Oslobođenje among the In Memoriam notices for those who fell defending Sarajevo and Bosnia is one for Hamdija Pozderac.

It was signed by his family members. The seventh anniversary of Hamdija's death went unremarked by his fellow combatants.

The question is whether he had any that is, how much did they care for the things Pozderac stood for: a unitary Bosnian state.









05. april 1995.

Ispitano je više od 1600 slučajeva /silovanja/.
UN su utvrdile 151 masovnu grobnicu koje su sadržavale od 5 do 3000 tijela.
Basijuni je istakao da etničko čišćenje nije bilo predmet haosa nego obrasca koji se protezao od Foče, Goražda, Srebrenice, Brčkog, Banje Luke do Bihaća.

05. april 1995.

Novi, drugi ambasador Velike Britanije u Bosni i Hercegovini, Njegova Ekselencija Hopkinson prilikom predaje akreditiva predsjedniku Izetbegoviću unio je u uobičajeni protokolarni šablon i nešto sasvim novo /govorio je bosanski/.

Brajan Hopkinson, ambasador V. Britanije:

"Zalaganje moje vlade u Bosni i Hercegovini se pokazalo na mnogo načina. Životima naših vojnika u UNPROFOR-u mi pomažemo da se očuvaju životi u Bosni i Hercegovini... Britansko ministarstvo za pomoć ima glavnu ulogu u snabdijevanju bosanskog naroda hranom... Ja sam došao u grad koji još uvijek zavisi od humanitarne pomoći, koji je još uvijek pod neprijateljskom paljbom...

To je za modernu Evropu neprihvatljivo."

06. april 1995.

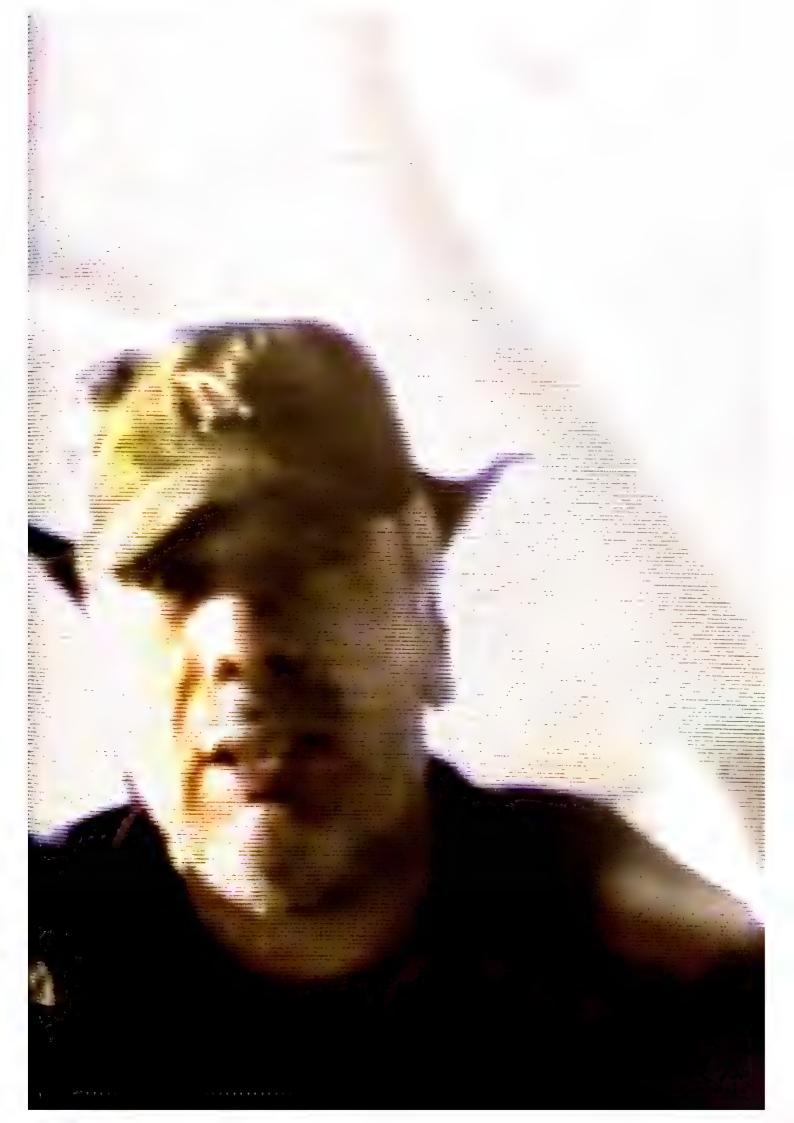
U današnjem "Oslobođenju" na stranicama gdje se bilježe datumi pogibija branilaca Sarajeva i Bosne objavljeno je sjećanje na Hamdiju Pozderca.

In memoriam su potpisali članovi porodice. Sedma godišnjica Hamdijine smrti nije obilježena sjećanjem njegovih saboraca na njega.

Pitanje je da li ih je Hamdija i imao, odnosno koliko je njima bilo uopšte stalo do onoga za šta se Pozderac zalagao: do bosanskog državnog integriteta.







6 April 1995

Hamdija Pozderac is the thin thread that maintained the continuity of Bosnian statehood from the Second World War to this one and one of the first to fall in the Bosnian struggle to affirm its independence and sovereignty.

9 April 1995 NEWS TVBIH

The Vlašić 'job' /to regain the highest peak in Bosnia and Herzegovina/ has been carried out without losses. It's the result of long and careful planning and preparation by General Alagić, who spent months patiently thinking through the action with just one aim: to recapture the height without casualties among his troops.

Without vanity, Mehmed Alagić, a young forty-seven-year-old former Lt. Colonel of the Yugoslav Federal Army which he quit in 1991, began his 'career' in the Bosnian Army as a rank and file soldier, a tank corpsman by training.

A flag of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina measuring fourteen metres by eight is flying on Vlašić.

Duška Jurišić, **editor**: In his statement following the liberation of Vlašić, the Commanding Officer of the Seventh Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegov'na, Mehmed Alagić, said: 'During the battle our officers and men demonstrated the highest skills of war, and great shrewdness. As a result, the entire action on Vlašić came as a complete surprise to the enemy, since we struck in the places where they least expected.'

While General Alagić was setting up the flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the Vlašić relay, the war criminal Radovan Karadžić said:

Radovan Karadžić, leader of the rebel Serbs: The offensives have already met with failure. The results are zero, and the 'Muslim Army' will be defeated.

Rasim Delić, Commanding Officer of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vlašić: Our first objective is to try to re-establish a communications link with the /Bosnian/ Krajina /region/, so the Krajina has media coverage, and then, God willing, to set foot there. . .









06. april 1995.

Hamdija Pozderac je ona tanka politička nit koja je održala kontinuitet bosanske državnosti od Drugog svjetskog rata naovamo i jedna je od prvih žrtava palih u bosanskoj borbi za potvrdu nezavisnosti i suvereniteta.

09. april 1995.

"Posao" na Vlašiću /osvajanje najviše kote u BiH/ odrađen je bez gubitaka. Rezultat je to duge pripreme i planiranja generala Alagića koji je mjesecima strpljivo smišljao akciju sa jednim ciljem -osvojiti vrh i sačuvati borce.

Mehmed Alagić, mlad, 47 godina, bivši potpukovnik Jugoslovenske narodne armije koju je napustio početkom 1991. godine, bez imalo sujete bosansku vojničku "karijeru" počeo je kao obični borac, po specijalnosti je tenkista.

Na Vlašiću se viori zastava Republike BiH dimenzija 14 sa 8 metara.

Duška Jurišić, urednik: U izvještaju povodom oslobađanja Vlašića komandant Sedmog korpusa Armije BiH Mehmed Alagić je naglasio: "Naši borci i starješine pokazali su na tom bojištu vrhunsku ratnu vještinu ali i lukavstvo. Zbog toga su sve naše aktivnosti na Vlašiću bile iznenađujuće za agresora pošto smo ga tukli na onim mjestima gdje se najmanje nadao"

l dok je general Alagić postavljao zastavu Bosne i Hercegovine na vlašićkom releju, ratni zločinac Radovan Karadžić je izjavljivao:

Radovan Karadžić, lider pobunjenih Srba: Te ofanzive su već doživjele neuspjeh. Rezultati su nula i "muslimanska vojska" će biti poražena.

Rasim Delić, komandant Armije BiH, Vlašić: Prije svega ćemo odavde pokušati da se "vezama" spojimo sa Krajinom, da medijski pokrijemo Krajinu a onda, ako bog da i nogom...









9 April 1995

Eight full years since Milošević's party putsch at the Eighth session of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Serbia, the then President of the Presidency of Serbia, Ivan Stambolić, has for the first time spoken out here in Sarajevo. Stambolić was the first victim of Milošević's purge, which marked the political death of the people who represent a normal Serbia.

Ivan Stambolić, former Serbian leader:

This is the first time I have stood behind the political podium in eight years... I couldn't hold back ... I didn't mean to do so today, but I can't hold back.

I address the Serbs, my fellow nationals.

The supreme, the existential interest of the Serb nation is now to defend the right and possibility of common living with others, to vanquish their own fear of the other and the different.

This right, this interest, is one that the Serb nation must ensure, and it will win the battle by defending Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We must all be part of that battle, but we have a long road to travel before that.

If our patriotism is not also philanthropy, it ceases to be patriotism and turns into a wave of violence and blood that will swamp us.

Let us be patriots because we are philanthropists because we love our fellow men and let that be our patriotism for if it is not, it is mere nationalism.

9 April 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Tomorrow Radio-Television Bosnia and Herzegovina celebrates its fiftieth anniversary.

The first words spoken on 10 April 1945 were: 'Death to fascism - freedom for the people!'. They remain equally topical to this day.

For half a century these words were the main guideline of our editorial policy. But though they were continually repeated, it seems that many of us didn't believe they would still be topical at the end of this century.









09. april 1995.

Nakon punih osam godina od partijskog puča koji je Milošević napravio na Osmoj sjednici Centralnog komiteta Saveza komunista Srbije javno, i to ovdje u Sarajevu, prvi put se oglasio tadašnji predsjednik Predsjedništva Srbije Ivan Stambolić, prva žrtva Miloševićevih čistki u kojima je izvršeno političko umorstvo ljudi koji predstavljaju jednu normalnu Srbiju.

Ivan Stambolić, bivši "prvi čovjek" Srbije:

Posle osam godina prvi put stajem za političku govornicu... Nisam izdržao... Mislio sam da to ne učinim ni danas, ali ne izdržah.

Obraćam se Srbima, mojim sunarodnicima.

Vrhovni, gotovo egzistencijalni interes srpskog naroda danas jeste da odbrani pravo i mogućnost na zajednički život sa drugima, da pobedi u sebi strah od drugog i drugačijeg.

To pravo, taj interes, srpski narod danas mora da ostvari i tu bitku da dobije braneći Bosnu i Hercegovinu.

Moramo u toj borbi biti svi, a dok ne postanemo svi - dug je put.

Ako naše rodoljublje nije isto i čovekoljublje, onda ono prestaje biti rodoljublje i postaje poplavni talas nasilja i krvi.
Budimo rodoljubi zato što volimo ljude,
zato što volimo čoveka
i neka to bude naš patriotizam
jer ako to nije, opet je nacionalizam.

09. april 1995.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Radio-televizija Bosne i Hercegovine sutra slavi punih 50 godina postojanja.

Prva reĉenica izgovorena 10. aprila 1945. godine glasila je: "Smrt fašizmu -sloboda narodu!" i ostala je aktuelna i do danas.

Pola vijeka je ta rećenica bila glavna odrednica uređivačke politike ove kuće. No, i pored upornog ponavljanja te rečenice izgleda da mnogi od nas nisu vjerovali da će i potkraj ovog vijeka ona biti aktuelna...









10 April 1995 NEWS TVBIH

IN MEMORIAM - MAJA DOKIĆ

This is Maja Đokić, youngest of three victims of last night's artillery attack by the agressor on the people of Sarajevo.

She was a true beauty.

Alexander Ivanko, UNPROFOR spokesman, told journalists today that Maja was killed by a 120mm shell. General Smith, UNPROFOR Commander, said in a statement prepared in New York: 'The shells were fired by troops from the Serb Army from a position on Špicasta stijena'. This was confirmed by a report by UNPROFOR experts.

Ivanko added: 'Yes, it's obvious that the Bosnian Serbs are not looking for military targets, but coward-ly abusing the people of this city.'

Ivanko also said: 'I must acknowledge that yesterday the UN failed to prevent a Serb attack on the city, so that there were casualties, both killed and injured.'

Prime M'nister Silajdžić commented for Reuters TV: 'Instead of NATO action, all we are getting is UNPROFOR statements!'

General Smith protested to the leadership of the rebel Serbs, threatening that NATO could target both positions from which they were firing and inactive positions.

Silajdžić is insisting that the UN Resolution be urgently enforced.

In a report to Bosnia and Herzegovina Presidency member Ejup Ganić, General Smith says: 'UNPROFOR recorded twelve shells fired from Serb positions.'

Rupert Smith also noted: 'There was neither provocation nor response to enemy action from Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina positions', and promised to put the 9 February 1994 NATO ultimatum into effect.

Speaking on behalf of the Presidency, Ganić called for preventive action by UNPROFOR.

In response to the accusation that the Bosnian Army was on the offensive in Central Bosnia, Prime Minister Silajdžić replied: 'So far as I know, Central Bosnia is in Bosnia and not in Serbia. That means that there is no offensive, we are merely continuing to resist aggression. To those who don't yet know it, I say: this country is under aggression, under occupation by Serbian forces. We shall resist.'

Maja Dokić was seventeen years old.

She attended the Third Gymnasium high school, and was an excellent pupil.

She played voileyball, and two instruments, the piano and the clarinet.

She was going home after practice.

She was a Sarajevo child. . .









IN MEMORIAM ZA MAJU ĐOKIĆ

Ovo je Maja Dokić

Najmlada od tri žrtve sinočnjeg artiljerijskog napada agresora na građane Sarajeva.

Bila je ljepotica nad ljepoticama.

Aleksandar Ivanko, portparol UNPROFOR-a, danas je novinarima izjavio da je Maja ubijena granatom kalibra 120 milimetara.

Komandant UNPROFOR-a, general Smit, u izvještaju koji je spremio u New York kaže:

"Granate su ispalili vojnici srpske vojske sa položaja na Špicastoj stijeni."

To potvrđuje izvještaj ekspertne grupe UNPROFOR-a.

Ivanko dodaje: "Da, očigledno je da bosanski Srbi ne traže vojne mete već na kukavički način zlostavljaju narod ovog grada."

Ivanko priznaje: "Moram priznati UN juće nije uspio da se odupre srpskom napadu na grad, tako da je bilo poginulih i povrijeđenih."

Premijer Silajdžić za TV Rojters komentariše: "Umjesto akcija NATO-a dobijamo samu izjavu UN-PROFOR-a!"

General Smit upućuje protest vodstvu pobunjenih Srba sa prijetnjom da NATO može gadati mete sa kojih se puca kao i one pozicije koje nisu aktivirane.

Silajdžić insistira i traži hitno provođenje Rezolucije UN-a.

General Smit u raportu članu Predsjedništva BiH Ejupu Ganiću kaže: "UNPROFOR je registrovao 12 granata ispaljenih sa srpskih položaja."

Rupert Smit naglašava: "Sa položaja Armije BiH nije bilo provokacija niti odgovora na agresorska dejstva", te obećao aktiviranje Ultimatuma NATO-a od 9. februara prošle godine Ganić je u ime Predsjedništva tražio preventivne akcije UNPROFOR-a.

Kao odgovor na optužbe da je bosanska armija u ofanzivi u centralnoj Bosni premijer Silajdžić odgovara: "Koliko ja znam centralna Bosna je u Bosni, a ne u Srbiji. To znači da nema nikakve ofanzive, mi se samo i dalje odupiremo agresiji, onima koji to ne znaju kažem: ova zemlja je pod agresijom, pod okupacijom srbijanskih snaga. Mi ćemo se odupirati."

Maja Dokić je imala sedamnaest godina.

Iśla je u treći razred gimnazije. Bila je odlična učenica.

Igrala je odbojku. Svirala dva instrumenta.

Klavir i klarinet.

Vraćala se kući poslije treninga.

Bila je sarajevsko dijete...









13 April 1995

NEWS TVBIH

At today's public lecture held by the Council of the Congress of Bosniac Intellectuals, as promised, the guest speaker was US Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina Victor Jakovich.

'The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the leading issue of American foreign policy, although many in Washington wish that it were otherwise', said the ambassador.

Victor Jakovich, US Ambassador: The wonder for me in this Balkan war is not the fact that the Karadźic Serbs occupied seventy percent of the territory "of Bosnia and Herzegovina" but that they did not seize one hundred percent. . . Everyone knows that the Karadžić Serbs wanted to take Sarajevo, Karadžić himself promised his people they would. But they have not taken Sarajevo.

Everyone knows that they wanted others' shores, but now they aren't even on the Adriatic.

You have demonstrated that you can hold out.

You have shown yourselves capable of maintaining the foundations of your society.

These are the foundations of democracy, tolerance, political pluralism, the multi-ethnic character of your society. All this has been preserved, despite all your difficulties, despite all the circumstances of war. Even at a time when you were having to fight for your very existence, in so doing, in my view, you were in fact defending not only Bosnia and your own interests but also the interests of the western world and the interests of Europe, the interests and principles of the international community.

This is the Bosnia that will survive.

18 April 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The Serb side has withdrawn the guarantees of security for UNPROFOR flights so as to prevent the US ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Victor Jakovich, from leaving via Sarajevo airport.

Jakovich did not give any trouble, made UNPROFOR's job easier, and behaved in true Sarajevo fashion. He left by car via Igman.

21 April 1995

NEWS TVBIH

An unusual encounter has entered the annals of diplomacy, a meeting /of a UN delegation/ with the former mayors of Sarajevo, not one of whom has ever left Sarajevo.

All fifteen of them are still in the city.

Some of them are deceased, some still alive - but all here.









13. april 1995.

Na današnjoj tribini Vijeća kongresa bošnjačkih intelektualaca, kao što je obećao gost je bio ambasador Sjedinjenih Američkih Država u Bosni i Hercegovini Viktor Jakovič.

"Sukob u Bosni i Hercegovini je glavno pitanje vanjske politike Amerike iako bi u Vashingtonu mnogi željeli da je drugačije" - kaže ambasador.

Viktor Jakovič, ambasador SAD: Za mene čudo u ovom balkanskom ratu nije što su Karadžićevi Srbi zauzeli sedamdeset posto teritorije /BiH/ nego je čudo da nisu uzeli sto posto... Svi znaju da su Karadžićevi Srbi htjeli zauzeti Sarajevo, Karadžić je to obećao svojim ljudima. Oni nisu zauzeli Sarajevo.

Svi znaju da su htjeli stajati na tuđoj obali, ali oni danas nisu na Jadranu.

Vi ste pokazali da možete izdržati.

Vi ste pokazali sposobnost da održite temelje vašeg društva.

To su temelji demokracije, tolerancije, političkog pluralizma, multietnički karakter vašeg društva. Sve se to sačuvalo ovdje usprkos vašim poteškoćama, usprkos svim ratnim uslovima.

Čak i u vrijeme kada ste se morali boriti za golu egzistenciju, čineći ovo, po mom mišljenju vi ste ustvari branili i odbranili ne samo Bosnu i vaše sopstvene interese nego i interese zapadnog svijeta i interese Evrope, interese i principe međunarodne zajednice.

Takva Bosna će biti.

18. april 1995.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Srpska strana je povukla bezbjednosne garancije za letove UNPROFOR-a kako bi spriječila da američki ambasador u Bosni i Hercegovini, Viktor Jakovič ode iz Sarajeva avionom.

Jakovič zbog toga nije pravio probleme, olakšao je posao UNPROFOR-u i postupio "sarajevski". Otišao je autom preko Igmana.

21. april 1995.

U diplomatske anale ući je jedan neuobičajeni susret /delegacije UN-a op. a./ sa bivšim gradonačelnicima Sarajeva od kojih nijedan nije napustio Sarajevo!!!

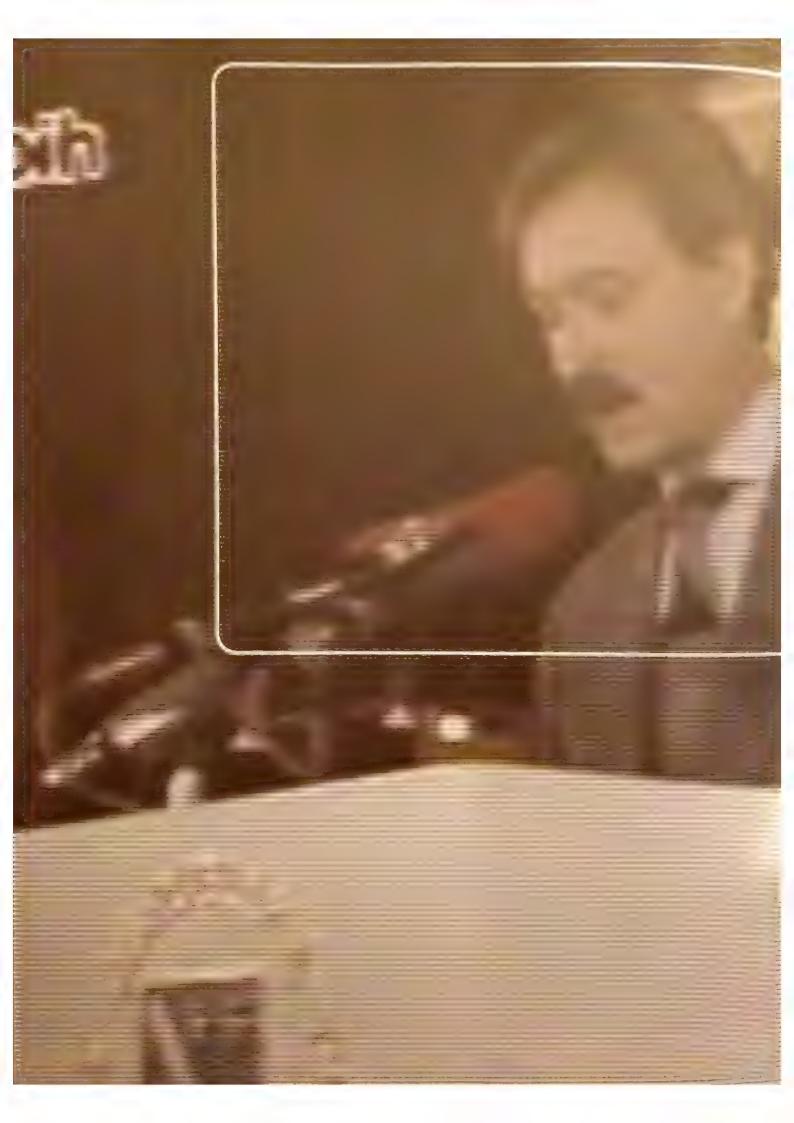
Ovdje su u svom gradu svih petnaest. Neki pokojni, neki živi, ali ovdje.











Victor Jakovich,

US Ambassador: The wonder for me in this Balkan war is not the fact that the Karadžić Serbs occupied seventy percent of the territory "of Bosnia and Herzegovina" but that they did not seize one hundred percent... Everyone knows that the Karadžić Serbs wanted to take Sarajevo, Karadžić himself promised his people they would. But they have not taken Sarajevo.

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This is the Bosnia that will survive.

Viktor Jakovič.

Ambasador SAD: Za mene čudo u ovom balkanskom ratu nije što su Karadžićevi Srbi zauzeli sedamdeset posto teritorije /BiH/ nego je čudo da nisu uzeli sto posto... Svi znaju da su Karadžićevi Srbi htjeli zauzeti Sarajevo, Karadžić je to obećao svojim ljudima. Oni nisu zauzeli Sarajevo.

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Takva Bosna će biti.

21 April 1995

Milovan Dilas, one of Tito's closest associates and the first great post-war communist dissident, died in Belgrade yesterday in his eighty-fourth year.

The question now is whether Dilas merits a Bosnian In Memoriam.

The old revolutionary's attitude towards Bosnia and Herzegovina clearly evolved after the war, in line with dilas' growing political maturity. It is hard to say of Dilas that he was against Bosnia; it would perhaps be more accurate to say that he was rather uninterested in the country's position in the Federal state at a time when he was 'running' Yugoslavia.

In a kind of political testament that he left to posterity in a book entitled Bošnjak, in fact a major interview between him and Adil Zulfikarpašić, it is clear that dilas listened with dismay to an account of Bosnian tolerance and inter-ethnic relations, which are in fact the basis of every Bosnian political relationship. Or were, at least.

But Dilas wasn't politically naive.

Perhaps this is not so well known, but it's a fact that this revolutionary and writer gave his first Yugoslav interview after a decades' long period of isolation to Bosnia and Herzegovina Television, or to Sarajevo Television, as it was then.

This was five years and two months ago, at a time when it was blasphemy to talk about national parties in Bosnia, but Dilas then said prophetically that this was an inevitability, and forecast that these parties would win in the same order as there were peoples in Bosnia.

Every Revolution leaves behind it its own Dissidents, but only one question remains for them.

Senad Hadžifejzović, reporter, 1990, Belgrade:

You were one of the first to take the oath of the Party that has declared you to be a traitor. Have you ever, from that day to this, betrayed anyone or anything, as a man, a revolutionary

and a writer?

Milovan Đilas, 'Prince of the Parti' and Dissident:

I was hurt by this, by which I mean I felt a deep sense of revolt and disappointment in those comrades, although in my heart of hearts I hadn't expected anything different, but it's one thing when you think something might happen and another when it actually does.

I took it hard for a while, for example at the Seventh Congress "of the Communist League".

While I was in my prison cell in Mitrovica /Kosovo/, the loudspeaker was right below my window, and they broadcast the session while the top people were speaking.

This provoked a great sense of anger and rebellion in me, but I got over it, and later it didn't bother me in the least.

But I have never felt like a traitor in any regard.









U Beogradu je juče u 84. godini umro Milovan Dilas, jedan od najbližih Titovih saradnika, prvi veliki poslijeratni komunistički disident.

Sada je pitanje: "Da li je Đilas zaslužio jedan bosanski In memoriam?"

Odnos ovog revolucionara prema Bosni i Hercegovini očigledno je evoluirao od rata naovamo uporedo sa Dilasovim političkim "sazrijevanjem".

Teško je za Dilasa reći da je bio protiv Bosne, možda je tačnije da nešto nije bio zainteresovan" za njenu poziciju u Federaciji u vrijeme kada je "drmao" Jugoslavijom.

U svojevrsnom političkom testamentu koji je ostavio u knjizi "Bošnjak", ustvari velikom intervjuu između njega i Adila Zulfikarpašića, vidi se da Đilas sa zaprepaštenjem sluša priče o bosanskoj toleranciji i međunacionalnim odnosima koji su ustvari osnova svih bosanskih političkih relacija. Barem su bili.

No, Đilas nije bio politički naivan.

Možda je manje poznato, ali tačno, da je ovaj revolucionar i književnik svoj prvi jugoslovenski intervju nakon višedecenijske izolacije dao Televiziji Bosne i Hercegovine, odnosno tadašnjoj Televiziji Sarajevo.

Bilo je to prije pet godina i dva mjeseca u vrijeme kada je u Bosni bilo bogohulno govoriti o nacionalnim strankama, ali je Đilas tada proročanski rekao da je to neminovnost i prognozirao da će te stranke pobijediti po onom redu koliko kojeg naroda u Bosni ima!

Poslije svake revolucije ostaju disidenti, a za njih ostaje samo jedno pitanje.

Senad Hadžifejzović, reporter, 1990. godina, Beograd:

Vi ste među prvima ponijeli i podnijeli "kletvu" Partije koja Vas je proglasila izdajnikom. Da li ste ikada od onog vremena do danas kao čovjek, revolucionar i književnik izdali nekoga ili nešto?

Milovan Dilas, "Princ Partije" i disident:

To me pogađalo u smislu jednog dubokog revolta i razočarenja u te drugove iako intimno i nisam očekivao drugo, ali drugo je kad se nešto događa, a drugo kad mislite da se može dogoditi.

To me pogađalo neko vreme, naprimer na Sedmom kongresu /komunista/.

U Mitrovici /Kosovo/ dok sam bio u zatvoru u ćeliji, megafon /zvučnik/ je bio pod mojim prozorom i prenosili su sednicu kada su vodeći ljudi govorili.

To je stvarno kod mene izazivalo besne revolte, ali to je prošlo, tako da me kasnije čak to nije nimalo uzrujavalo.









21 April 1995 NEWS TYBIR

That doesn't mean that it wasn't painful for me, being cut off from my comrades, more than being cut off from the ideology.

After all, being cut off from ideology is an intellectual discovery.

Hadžifejzović: What are your views on the abuse of the concept of treason by the authorities? Have you ever, consciously or unconsciously, been involved in this kind of abuse?

Dilas: Yes.

I have.

I too took part in those campaigns.

That's the truth.

For example, I took that line over the Informbureau, you know... and then against the opponents of the war, although those are differently qualified, different relationships.

But I did take part in it.

That's the truth.

25 April 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The top Bosnian story today is the decision of the Hague Tribunal to conduct an inquiry against Karadžić, Miadić and co. for war crimes committed in our country.

Instead of easing off for a while, at least for now, the suspects are continuing to order attacks on civilians, so ensuring that their dossiers at the War Crimes Tribunal become still fatter.

Here, just by way of reminder, are a few of the statements, conversations and orders issued by the enemy leader, on account of which Justice Goldstone indicted Karadžić and Mladić.

Radovan Karadžić, 14 October 1991. Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo:

'This path down which you want to take Bosnia and Herzegovina is the same as the highway to hell and suffering that Slovenia and Croatia have set off on.

Don't imagine that you aren't dragging Bosnia and Herzegovina into hell and the Muslim nation to annihilation, maybe,

for the Muslim nation is incapable of self-defence if there should be war here!'

Ratko Mladić, 18 April 1993, Srebrenica:









A nisam se nikada ni osećao izdajnikom ni u čemu. To ne znači da mi nije teško padalo odvajanje od drugova,više nego odvajanje od ideologije. Jer, odvajanje od ideologije to je jedno intelektualno saznanje.

Hadžifejzović: Šta mislite o zloupotrebi pojma izdaje od strane vlasti? Da li ste ikada, svjesno ili nesvjesno, bili akteri takve zloupotrebe?

Dilas: Da.

Bio sam.

1 ja sam učestvovao u tim kampaniama.

To je istina.

Naprimer, oko Informbiroa bio sam na toj liniji, je li... onda prema protivnicima iz rata, mada su to druge kvalifikacije i drugi odnosi.

Ali i ja sam učestvovao u tome.

To je istina.

25. april 1995.

Bosanska tema broj jedan je odluka Haškog tribunala o provođenju istrage protiv Karadžića, Mladića... za počinjene ratne zločine u našoj zemlji.

Umjesto da se, barem sada, nakratko primire, osumnjičeni i dalje naređuju izvršavanje napada na civile i tako "podebljavaju" svoje dosjee u sudu za ratne zločine.

Podsjećamo na samo neke izjave, razgovore i naredbe agresorskih vođa zbog kojih je gospodin Goldston osumnjičio Karadžića i Mladića.

Radovan Karadžić, 14.10.1991. Skupština BiH, Sarajevo:

Ovo je put na koji vi hoćete da izvedete Bosnu i Hercegovinu, ista ona autostrada pakla i stradanja kojom su pošli Slovenija i Hrvatska!
Nemojte da mislite da nećete odvesti Bosnu i Hercegovinu u pakao,
a muslimanski narod možda u nestanak,
jer muslimanski narod ne može da se odbrani
ako bude rata ovdje!

Ratko Mladić, 18. 4. 1993., Srebrenica:









NEWS TVBIH

Mladić: The Boss speaking.

Kraljević, a Serb officer: Yes, sir!

Mladic: Feel free to hammer Zeleni Jadar. Who gives a fuck about them!

Mladić: Give Zeleni Jadar a pounding, but don't touch the factory, we need machines. . . Let off a salvo at Zeleni Jadar right away, and is the line clear with our people there, so you don't get them by mistake...

Kraljević: Don't you worry about a thing, sir!

Mladic: Just chop them to pieces, boss! Only live flesh, mind!

Kraljević: Cheers.

Mladić: Don't target Srebrenica direct, but give everything a good pounding all around, turn and turn about.

Unidentified Serb officer: Understood! Well, today we've been pounding. . .

Mladić: Don't give me that! Only live flesh, nothing else, just live flesh!

Do the rounds of that hill of theirs, they don't have any weapons with deadly ammunition, they've only got the odd 'zolja', ordinary shotguns, and that's it, three hundred metres from the hill, make a detour, cut off the road, they've apparently no water or power or food or anything – they'll have to make a getaway.

Serb officer: Understood!

Radovan Karadžić, 1993, in the Sarajevo area

This is Mr Limonov, a very, very famous Russian writer.

Hallo, is that Eagle? Good, can you get me my wife, please.

Edward Limonov, Russian writer, American immigrant, author of That's me, Edička.









Mladić: Šef ovde.

Kraljević, srpski oficir: Molim!

Mladić: Zeleni Jadar tuci slobodno! Ko im jebe mater!

Kraljević: Razumeo! Ako dozvoljavate, odmah ćemo "pokupiti"!

Mladić: Zeleni Jadar tuci, samo nemoj fabriku dirati pošto nam trebaju mašine... Zeleni Jadar, odmah plotun pali i imaš li dobru vezu sa našim da njih ne pokupiš"...

Kraljević: Ništa se vi ne sekirajte!

Mladić: Samo cepaj, šefe! U živo meso samo!

Kraljević: Zdravo!

Mladić: Po Srebrenici direktno nemojte da tučete, a okolo tucite sve redom!

Srpski oficir XY: Jasno! Pa, tukli smo danas...

Mladić: Ništa to! Samo u živo meso, ništa nemoj samo u živo meso!

Obilazite ta njihova brda, oni nemaju oružja sa ubitačnijim oružjem, oni samo imaju poneku "zolju", imaju puške one obične i to je sve, trista metara od brda, zaobiđi, preseci komunikaciju,

nema navodno ni vode, ni struje, ni hrane, ni ništa - mora bežat.

Srpski oficir XY: Jasno!

Radovan Karadžić, 1993. okolina Sarajeva:

Ovo je gospodin Limonov, pisac ruski, veoma, veoma poznat. /Eduard Limonov, ruski pisac, američki imigrant, djelo "To sam ja, Edička", op.a/

Halo, je li to "Orao"? Dobro, da li možda možete da dobijete moju ženu?









6 June 1995 NEWS TVBIH

INTERVIEW with the President of the Republic of Slovenia, Milan Kučan

Ljubljana, Slovenia, 6 June 1995.

Hadžifejzović: You are trusted in Bosnia and Herzegovina both as a man and as a head of state. What are the essential conditions to cut the Gordian knot of the wars in Yugoslavia and to resolve the Bosnian problem?

Kučan: It's difficult to be a prophet in such circumstances, because there are so many conflicting interests involved, not only of those who live in the Balkans, the peoples and states of the Balkans, but also beyond, of the countries of Europe and the European Union as such. I believe that a solution will be sought, finally, on the same principles as at the outset of the crisis... It's my firm belief that a mistake was made when Europe was not itself willing to resolve this problem, a European problem par excellence, but instead off-loaded it onto the UN and the international community. The original blueprint /for a resolution of the crisis/ was based on the assumption that Yugoslavia no longer existed as a common state and that each of its Republics was free to decide its own future, whether to be autonomous and independent or to opt to form a common state with some other states.

Hadžifejzović: In the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina we see you as a friend, and your state as a friendly state. Do you have any advice for the Bosnians?

Kučan: It's hard to give advice as regards friendship, but it's reasonable that we should recognize for the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina the same right that we Slovenes sought for ourselves when we realized that the days of common living in Yugoslavia were numbered, that is the right to self-determination. I want them to be able to organize their own lives in their own state, to reflect above all on how jointly to run the different elements of that common state on a basis of full equality, how to Europeanize it, how to meet the norms that will open the door to European integration, and above all not to keep thinking about who is to blame for the dissolution as such of Yugoslavia but rather about who is to blame for the war and for the dissolution of the former state taking such a tragic and violent form. There were ways in which dissolution could have taken place peacefully. We have the example of Czechoslovakia, the way in which the Czechs and the Slovaks managed partition, to show us that it's possible. The Soviet Union was an example of contradictions of all kinds, national, religious, economic, social, and yet, notwithstanding the war in Chechnya, it broke up more peacefully than we, the peoples of former Yugoslavia, have managed things.





INTRERVJU, Predsjednik Republike Slovenije, Milan Kučan

Ljubljana, Slovenija, 06. 06. 1995.

Hadžifejzović: Vi ste čovjek i predsjednik kojem se u Bosni i Hercegovini vjeruje. Koji je osnovni uslov razrješenja jugoslovenskog ratnog čvora i način rješavanja bosanskog problema.

Kučan: Teško je u tim stvarima biti prorok jer u sam konflikt umiješano je više interesa ne samo onih koji žive na Balkanu, naroda i država Balkana, nego i šire evropskih država i zajednica uopće. Mislim da će se rješenje na kraju tražiti na načelima na kojima se rješenje tražilona samom početku krize... Moje čvrsto uvjerenje je da je bila načinjena greška kada Evropa ovaj svoj "par exelance" evropskih problema nije bila spremna rješavati u svojim okvirima nego ga je prenijela i natovarila na ramena UN-a i međunarodne zajednice.

Taj početni nacrt /razrješenja krize/ temeljio se na pretpostavci da Jugoslavije kao zajedničke države više nema i da je svakoj Republici prepušteno da sama odlučuje o svojoj sudbini, da li žele samostalnost i neovisnost ili želi sa nekim drugim državama formirati zajednicu država.

Hadžifejzović: U Republici BiH Vas doživljavamo kao prijatelja, Vašu državu kao prijateljsku državu. Imate li neki savjet za Bosance?

Kučan: Teško je dati savjete što se tiče prijateljstva, ali je razumljivo to što smo mi Slovenci zahtijevali za sebe kada smo ustanovili da su dani zajedničkog života u Jugoslaviji odbrojani, dakle pravo
na samoopredjeljenje, da to priznamo i državljanima Bosne i Hercegovine. Želim da mirno urede svoj
život u svojoj državi, da razmišljaju prije svega o tome kako će zajednički upravljati kao jednakopravni dijelovi te svoje zajedničke države, da razmišljaju o tome kako bi je evropeizirali, da ispune
one standarde koji bi im otvorili vrata u evropskim integracijama, a prije svega da ne razmišljaju o
tome ko je kriv za raspad Jugoslavije već o tome ko je kriv da je došlo do rata i da je došlo do tako
tragičnog i nasilnog raspada te države. Postojale su mogućnosti da taj razlaz bude miran. Da je to
moguće pokazuje primjer Čehoslovačke, naćin na koji su se razišli Česi i Slovaci. Sovjetski Savez je
bio primjer proturjećja svih vrsta, nacionalnih, religioznih, privrednih, socijalnih a ipak je usprkos
ratu u Čečeniji, proteklo sve mirnije nego što je uspjelo narodima na prostoru Jugoslavije.





15 June 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The office of the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina has just issued this statement in view of the escalation of the fighting in the Sarajevo area:

'It will soon be a year since Karadžić's Serbs rejected the Contact Group's peace plan, which had the support of the entire international community and even of Milošević's Serbia.

They have thereby prolonged the war and the suffering of the people for a further year, with the aim of imposing a solution that suits only them.

This is a solution based on force, genocide, ethnic cleansing and the total disregard for all the norms of international law.

In order to achieve their ends, the Pale Serbs have resolved finally to choke Sarajevo off completely, after maintaining the city under siege for more than three years and continuing to kill civilians, ignoring and violating the international community's resolution on the exclusion zone around the city. They then confiscated the heavy weapons, tanks, artillery and so on that had been handed over to UNPROFOR supervision on the basis of this resolution, kidnapped those who were guarding the weapons, and even seized some of their weapons. On 9 April 1995 they closed Sarajevo airport to humanitarian aid for Sarajevo, and then sealed off all land access routes into the city. On 26 May 1995 they also cut off the already very limited quantities of electricity, water and gas that were reaching the city.

Sarajevo was left without anything: without electricity, water, gas, food, medical supplies. Every initiative on the part of the personnel of international organizations such as UNHCR, the Red Cross and others to bring to an end or at least to alleviate the humanitarian blockade of the city was bluntly rejected by Pale.

At the same time, they continued to mass troops and arms around the city. The world has done nothing to prevent the looming catastrophe.

IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA HAS BEEN ORDERED TO TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO PREVENT THE FURTHER STRANGULATION OF THE CITY OF SARAJEVO.

THESE MEASURES ARE OF A PREVENTIVE NATURE AND ARE PROCEEDING ACCORDING TO PLAN.

Note: This was the text of the Presidential Order to the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina to take military action to prevent the 'strangulation of Sarajevo' or, as it was interpreted, military action to lift the siege and liberate the city







Povodom intenziviranja borbi u zoni Sarajeva, Kabinet predsjednika Predsjedništva BiH upravo je izdao sljedeće saopćenje:

"Uskoro će se navršiti godina dana kako Karadžićevi Srbi odbijaju da prihvate Mirovni plan Kontakt grupe koji je podržala čitava Međunarodna zajednica pa čak i Miloševićeva Srbija. Na ovaj način oni godinu dana produžuju rat i patnje naroda s ciljem da nametnu rješenje koje samo njima odgovara.

To rješenje se zasniva na sili, genocidu, etničkom čišćenju i ignoriranju svih normi međunarodnog prava.

Da bi ovo postigli, paljanski Srbi su odlučili da konačno uguše Sarajevo koje drže u okruženju preko tri godine pa su nastavili ubijanje civila ignorišući, kršeći odluke međunarodne zajednice o zoni isključenja oko grada. Zatim su oteli teško naoružanje, tenkove, artiljeriju i drugo koje su na osnovu pomenute odluke bili predali pod nadzor UNPROFOR-a, zarobili čuvare oružja pa i prisvojili dio njihovog naoružanja. Devetog aprila 1995. godine zatvorili su Sarajevski aerodrom preko kojeg je pristizala humanitarna pomoć za Sarajevo, a zatim zatvorili i sve kopnene prilaze gradu. Dvadeset šestog maja 1995. godine isključili i one ograničene količine struje, vode i plina koje su ulazile u grad.

U Sarajevu nije bilo više ničega: ni struje, ni vode, ni plina, ni hrane, ni lijekova. Sve inicijative predstavnika međunarodnih organizacija, UNHCR-a, Crvenog križa i drugih da se obustavi ili barem ublaži humanitarna blokada grada na Palama su bile grubo odbačene.

Istovremeno, nastavili su da gomilaju trupe i oružje oko grada. Svijet nije ništa preduzimao da spriječi očiglednu katastrofu.

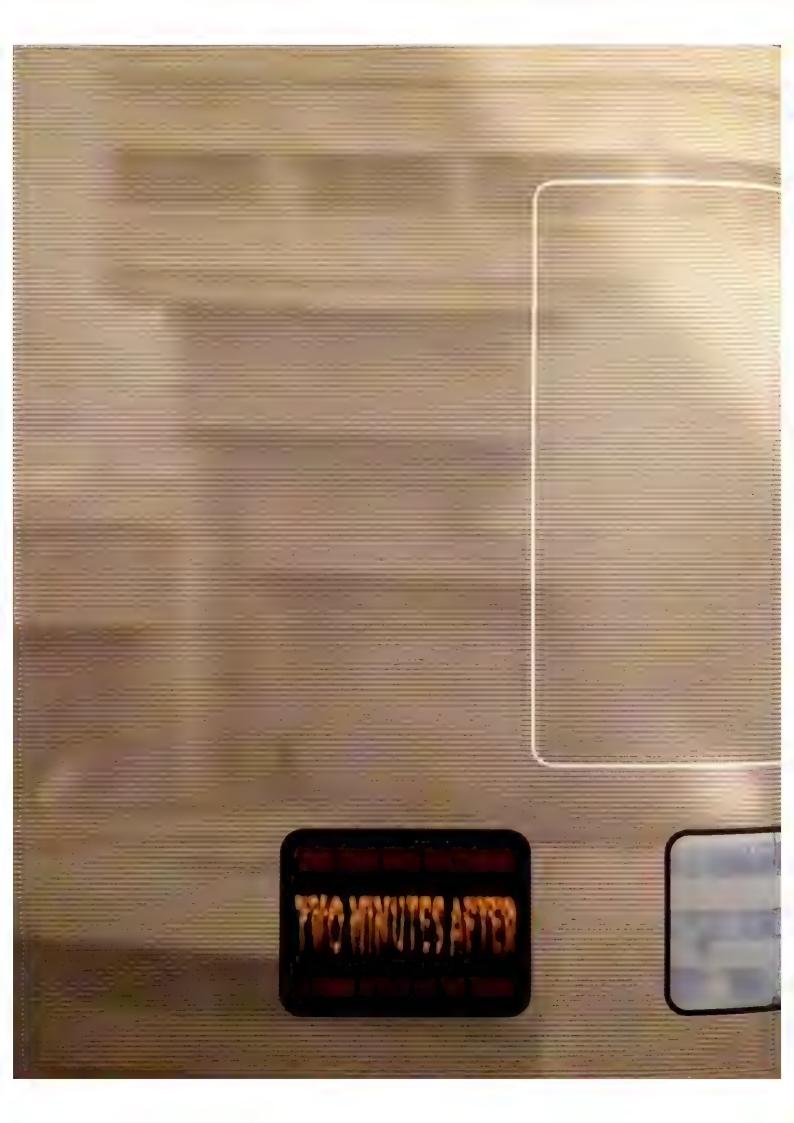
U TAKVOJ SITUACIJI NALOŽENO JE ARMIJI REPUBLIKE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE DA PODUZME MJERE ČIJI JE CILJ DA SE SPRIJEČI DALJE "GUŠENJE" GRADA SARAJEVA! MJERE IMAJU PREVENTIVNI KARAKTER I TEKU PO PLANU.

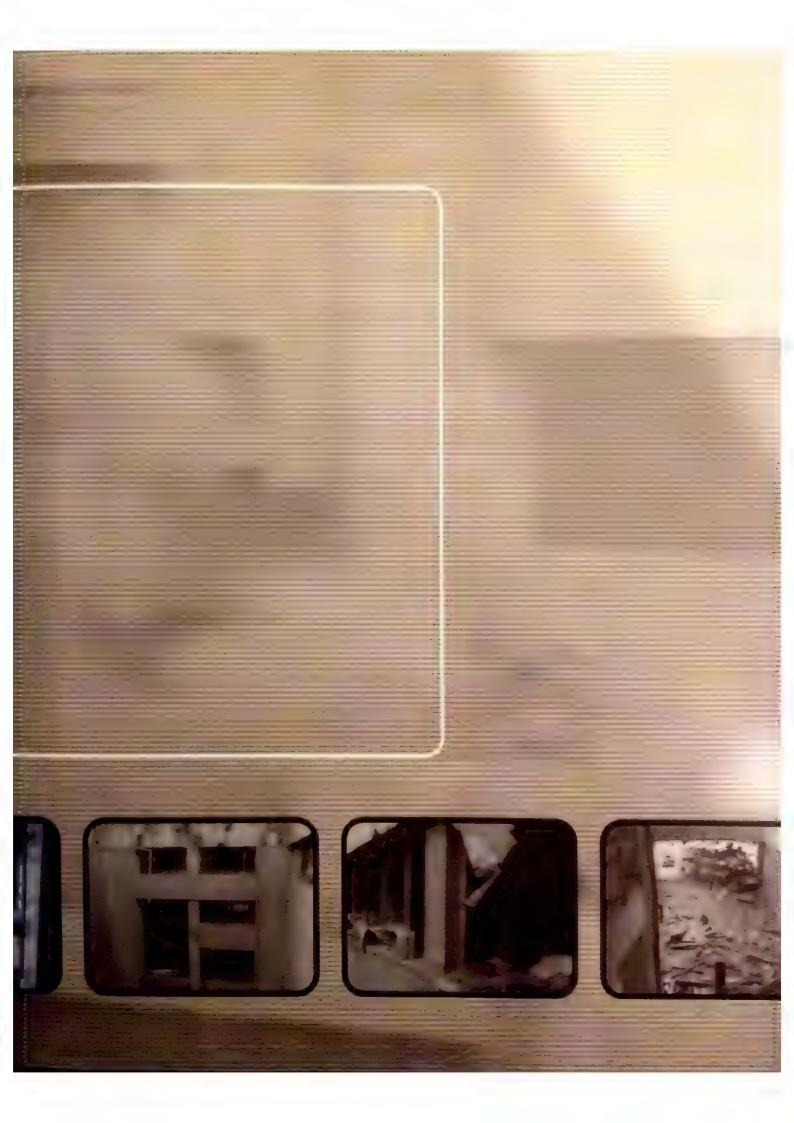
Napomena: Bio je ovo tekst Naredbe Predsjedništva BiH Armiji BiH da poduzme vojnu akciju na sprječavanju "gušenja Sarajeva" ili, kako je tumačeno, vojnu akciju deblokade, oslobađanja grada.











28 June 1995 NEWS TVBIH

TWO MINUTES AFTER

THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA RADIO TELEVISION CENTRE WAS STRUCK BY A MISSILE 28 JUNE 1995 AT 09.23

Explanation

Dear reader

What you see before you is the only document in this entire book that does not represent part of a live Bosnia and Herzegovina Television broadcast.

Although I wrote in the Introduction to this book that these are not my memoirs, this is an event that I feel I must single out and describe.

On 28 June 1995, at twenty three minutes past nine, the Bosnia and Herzegovina Radio Television Centre took a direct hit from the largest projectile ever to land on the city of Sarajevo during the entire war. Our main, central studio, Studio C from which we broadcast the main News programme each day, was hit by a modified aircraft bomb.

Since for technical reasons we were unable to broadcast the programme live, I and cameramen Sulejman Mulaomerović and Kemal Muminović filmed, literally two minutes after the attack, what had happened to the equipment and the studios, and to the RTV premises generally.

For me, it was as if the programme was going out live.

We filmed a television documentary in just three frames. 'In one gulp', as the saying goes. Three cassettes, each of twenty minutes. A cassette for each frame.

I already knew that morning that the material wouldn't be broadcast for a long time, not before the end of the war, for security reasons.

But what I didn't know then, nor could I even imagine, was that there were people in the Television who would cover up our footage, who would 'lose' it, archive it, 'put it on the back burner'.

I don't know why someone from Documentaries 'lost' our documentary. Except for reasons of vanity, perhaps. . . Although the film that emerged from this footage would later be edited, translated and titled, it was never completed for presentation at any of the European or world festivals of documentary films.

It was broadcast just once by our own Television, quite by chance.

Not once during the entire war did I sense so much energy, such pride, such courage in people as that morning. That 28 June we were all one family. We ran around like worker ants, carrying machinery, cables, rescuing equipment. . .

I had just one thought: the programme must go on without a break.

Nor was there a break; not even for a second.

We even laughed and joked...

This is a small testimony to the great heroes of Bosnia and Herzegovina Television.









DVA MINUTA POSLIJE RAKETIRANJE RADIO-TELEVIZIJE BIH 28. JUNA 1995., 9 SATI 1 23 MIN.

Objašnjenje

Poštovani čitaoče,

Pred Tobom je jedini dokument u ovoj knjizi koji se nije desio u programu uživo Televizije Bosne i Hercegovine.

lako sam u Uvodu ove knjige rekao da ovo nisu memoari, moram izdvojiti ovaj događaj i pojasniti ga. 28. juna 1995. godine u 9 sati i 23 minute zgrada Radio-televizije Bosne i Hercegovine pogođena je najvećim projektilom koji je za sve vrijeme rata uopće "pao" na grad Sarajevo. Naš centralni, glavni studio, Studio C, odakle smo emitirali centralnu informativnu emisiju, Dnevnik, pogođen je modifikovanom avio-bombom.

Kako zbog tehničkih razloga nismo mogli emitirati program uživo, snimatelji Sulejman Mulaomerović, Kemal Muminović i ja, doslovce dvije minute nakon ovog napada, snimili smo šta se dešavalo u pogonima, studijima, prostorima Televizije BiH.

To je za mene bilo kao da program ide uživo.

Snimili smo televizijski dokument u samo tri kadra. Iz "cuga", kako se kaže.

Tri kasete po dvadeset minuta. Svaka kaseta po jedan kadar.

Znao sam tada, tog jutra, da ovaj materijal neće biti emitiran dugo, do kraja rata, iz sigurnosnih razloga.

No, tada nisam znao, niti sam mogao pomisliti, da u toj televiziji postoje ljudi koji će ovaj materijal sakriti, "izgubiti", skloniti, "strpati u bunker"...

Nisu mi poznati razlozi zbog kojih je "neko" iz Dokumentarnog programa "zagubio" ovaj dokument. Osim sujete, možda... lako je film nastao od ovog materijala kasnije bio montiran, preveden i titlovan, on nikada nije spremljen ni na jedan festival evropskog, svjetskog dokumentarnog programa.

Na našoj televiziji emitiran je samo jednom, vrlo slučajno.

Nijednom u toku cijelog rata nisam osjetio takvu energiju, takav ponos, hrabrost kod ljudi kao tog jutra. Svi smo tog 28. juna bili jedna porodica. Trčali kao u mravinjaku, nosili mašine, kablove, spašavali opremu...

Imali smo samo jednu misao: "Program ne smije biti prekinut!"

1 nije bio prekinut! Niti jednu jedinu sekundu.

Čak smo se i smijali, šalili...

Ovo je malo svjedočanstvo o velikim herojima Televizije BiH.









28 June 1995

Hadžfejzović: It's the morning of 28 June 1995.

The headlines you are watching and the footage you are going to see will not be broadcast today, 28 June, nor later. This is for the archives of Radio Television Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are in the premises, the editorial centre, from which, before the war, Television Sarajevo's Open Programme used to be broadcast. Now it is our programme that comes out of here. It's important to point out that not for a second has the Television Bosnia and Herzegovina programme gone off the air. Our technicians transferred undamaged equipment from the wrecked premises of the Television, and here we are already working on the cutting and editing machines.

The work we've done and the speed at which we did it was positively military!

Were you afraid?

Erol Zubčević, mixer: No, not a bit.

Hadžifejzović: Where were you?

Zubčević: On the seventh floor.

Hadžifejzović: They say that the explosion had the same effect on all the floors.

Zubčević: We had the impression that the rocket landed up above. But in fact it landed down below!

Hadžifejzović: We've transferred the control room of the programme down here from the seventh floor. How difficult was that to do, technically?

Zubčević: It was a high-speed action. Like commandos. Seventh floor - first floor. Just like that.

Hadžifejzović: Denis, what does this mean, what we're doing now?

Denis Malohodžić, sound engineer: We're trying to link up the appliances, in effect to reduce the entire television to this one control room. You see, we've set up here some emergency equipment, just to keep the programme on the air. We're doing everything all at once: the programme's going out, we're linking up, we're even receiving reports from our correspondents!

Hadžifejzović: Your grey hair, were you grey before the bombardment?

Malohodžić: I went grey along with the shells, ha, ha, ha...

Hadžifejzović: Edo, would you tell us what's going on here?

Edhem Bešagić, maintenance service: Well, it's obvious. Everyone's doing his job.









Hadžifejzović: Jutro je, 28. juna 1995. godine.

Najava koju upravo gledate i snimak koji čete vidjeti neće biti emitovani ovog, 28. juna ni kasnije. Ovu najavu ostavljamo za Arhiv RTVBiH.

Evo nas u prostoru, režiji, iz kojeg je prije rata išao Otvoreni program Televizije Sarajevo. Odavde, sada ide program...Važno je napomenuti da ni u jednom momentu program Televizije BiH nije prekinut. Iz oštećenih, pogođenih prostora Televizije tehničari su prebacili tehniku koja nije oštećena i evo, već se radi na prespajanju, montaži mašina.

Ovaj posao koji smo napravili, brzina kojom smo to uradili-to je bilo vojnički!

Jesi li se prepao?

Erol Zubčević, mikser: Ne, ni najmanje!

Hadžifejzović: Gdje si bio?

Zubčević: Na sedmom katu.

Hadžifejzović: Kažu da je isti efekat eksplozije bio na svim katovima.

Zubčević: Mi smo imali utisak da je raketa pala gore! Međutim, ona je pala dolje!

Hadžifejzović: Ovdje smo sa sedmog sprata prebacili režiju programa.

Kako je to tehnološki bilo uraditi, teško?

Zubčević: To je bila brza akcija. Kao specijalci! Sedmi sprat-prvi sprat! Baš tako.

Hadžifejzović: Denis, šta znači ovo što radimo sada?

Denis Malohodžić, ton-majstor: Pokušavamo prespojiti uređaje, praktično komplet televiziju svesti na ovaj jedan režijski prostor. Vidiš, tu smo mašine instalirali za prvu priliku, samo da program ne bi stao. Sve radimo odjednom: program ide, mi prespajamo, čak primamo i izvještaje dopisnika!

Hadžifejzović: To, što si posijedio, to je od prije granate?

Malohodžić: To je sa granatama zajedno... ha, ha, ha...

Hadžifejzović: Edo, hoćeš nam ti objasniti ovo?

Edhem Bešagić, Služba održavanja: Sve je jasno. Svak radi svoj posao.









28 June 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Our cameraman, cameraman for the Early News on Bosnia and Herzegovina Television, Želimir Maksimović Makso. This is the eight thousand and third News in a row, TV Bosnia and Herzegovina News.... And you've lived and slept in the studio all through the war, the very same studio that the rocket landed on!

Maksimović: When the rocket landed I was in the premises next to the studio. I couldn't get out...

Hadžifejzovic: Which means you're first-rate at seeing into the future. You reckoned there was no chance of a rocket landing on the studio, ha, ha, ha. . .

Maksimović: Well, something like that.

Hadžifejzovic: Anyway, Makso has been on the News all through the war. How many times have you missed the News?

Maksimović: Not one! Not a single News, not a single News Headlines. I've filmed every single news programme.

Hadžifejzović: He's done all the main News and all the News Headlines! This is the man behind the camera.... We're going into the improvised studio now... Here's Sejo. Your experience is indispensable to us right now. You reacted with amazing speed.

Sejo Begtašević, engineer: We've tried to ensure that the programmes stay on air without a break, we've set things up in secure premises.... I think we're going to win!

Lighting hand: Everything's ready, if the News has to go out from here, we can get going right away. Every other programme, too: War Art, Open Studio, and the News... We've got yet another place there, reserve premises, it used to be a store room, where props were kept... That's where the studio will be.

Hadžifejzović: Sejo, this is a small room, what about people who have claustrophobia?

Begtašević: Ha! We'll get rid of them and bring in people who haven't!

Hadžifejzović: Slavan, this used to be your place. Who made this Bosnian flag?

Slavan Bojović, chief set hand, scenographer: Yes, this is the place where sets were made. We made the flag back in 1992 when we didn't have any ready-made ones. We used to use it for special effects and commercials....

Hadžifejzović: Caretaker, is this going to be difficult for you?







HadžifeJzović: Naš snimatelj, kamerman prvog Dnevnika Televizije BiH, Želimir Maksimović Makso. Ovo je 8003. (osam hiljada i treći) Dnevnik po redu, Dnevnik TVBiH... Ti si, inače, cijeli rat živio, spavao upravo u studiju u koji je udarila raketa!!!

Maksimović: Upravo sam u momentu udara bio u prostoriji pored studija. Nisam mogao da izadem...

Hadžifejzović: Što znači da si "odličan" prognozer. Procijenio si da nema šanse da raketa udari u studio, ha, ha, ha....

Maksimović: Pa, tako nešto...

Hadžifejzović: Inače, Makso je cijeli rat bio u Dnevniku. Koliko si dnevnika propustio?

Maksimović: Nijedan! Ma, nijedan! Ni jedan dnevnik, ni jedne vijesti! Sve vijesti, sve dnevnike sam odradio.

Hadžifejzović: Sve vijesti, sve dnevnike je odradio! To je čovjek koji stoji iza kamere... Idemo u improvizovani studio... Evo ga Sejo. Tvoje iskustvo je najneophodnije bilo u ovom momentu. "Superbrzo" si reagovao.

Sejo Begtašević, inžinjer: Pokušali smo da riješimo besprekidno emitovanje programa, smjestili smo se u bezbjednije prostorije... Mislim da ćemo pobijediti!

Majstor svjetla: Sve je spremno, ako treba da ide Dnevnik iz ovog prostora, možemo krenuti odmah. I sve emisije: i "Rat art" i "Otvoreni studio" i "Dnevnik"...lmamo tamo još jedan prostor, rezervni, to je bio magacin, skladište scene...Tu će biti studio

Hadžifejzović: Sejo, ovo je mali prostor, šta sa onima koji imaju klaustrofobiju?

Begtašević: Ha! Zamijenit ćemo ih sa onima koji nemaju!

Hadžifejzović: Slavene, ovo je bio "tvoj prostor". Ko je pravio ovu zastavu BiH?

Slavan Bojović, šef scene, scenograf: Da, ovo je prostor scenske realizacije. Zastavu smo pravili još 1992. godine kad nismo imali napravljenih. Koristili smo je za "trikove" i spotove...

Hadžifejzović: Majstore, hoće li ti biti težak posao?









28 June 1995

Handyman-caretaker: No! We'll get it all done in time, and properly too. Out of spite for the enemy. Better still, in spite of all our setbacks, shortcomings, difficulties, we'll do everything.

Hadžifejzović: It looks to me as though there's been a party here! A bottle of local brandy, no less!

Handyman: Some party! That's a bottle from the good old days. I hope there'll be still better ones to come, with bigger bottles than this!

Hadžifejzović: Maybe there won't be any alcohol in future. . .

Handyman: Well, we'll see... We'll try to make sure there is some where there ought to be, and as for where there shouldn't, it's OK if there isn't any.

Hadžifejzović: Let's keep going. This is the room between Studio C and Studio D. There are workmen here too... We're right at the heart of the incident here! This is the vestibule of Studio C. These are cameras that have long since outlived their natural lifespan, but they're like the people of Bosnia, so stubborn that they're still being used.

Makso, if what I hear is right, they've done eight thousand war hours!

Maksimović: Yes, they were even running at the time of the explosion. They date back to 1984, to the Olympics. Five thousand running hours is the normal maximum. Then they are thrown out.

HadžifeJzović: Here, the workmen have broken through into Studio C. This is where I read the News last night... right here, at this desk... the shell came in there, the right-hand corner. The entire Studio has been demolished.

The shell that hit Studio C was not deliberately fired at this studio. It's an incredible situation. The projectile flew over our studio, didn't explode right away, ricochet'd off the opposite wall and some other walls of this building and only then 'touched down' by Studio C and exploded. Unbelievable...

Here we are in the war-time premises where equipment is handed out to cameramen.

This is Malik, our organizer. I was with him at the Desk when we took the hit.

Malik, I have to 'punch you in'.

You had the impression that something was rolling about, that furniture was shifting, before the explosion came.

Malik Žoljić, organizer: That something was moving, that machinery was shifting overhead... Everything was shaking like in an earthquake... beginning to move... Thanks be to God, everything turned out all right.

Hadžifejzović: This is one of our wonder-boys, Muhammed Haćimić. When he was young he had the nickname Pinca. It's paradoxical, sir, that you cover so much ground as a TV cameraman but here, unfortunately...









Majstor, domar: Ne! Sve ćemo stići na vrijeme i kvalitetno. Zainat dušmanima. Još bolje, bez obzira na sve nedaće, neimaštinu, teškoće, mi ćemo uraditi sve.

Hadžifejzović: Koliko ja vidim, bilo je zabavno u ovom prostoru. Flaša rakije!

Majstor: Vrlo zabavno! To je flaša iz sretnijih vremena. Ja se nadam da nam još sretnija dolaze, da će biti većih flaša od ovih!

Hadžifejzović: Možda u tim vremenima ne bude alkohola...

Majstor: ... Pa, vidjećemo... potrudićemo se da ga bude gdje treba, a tamo gdje ne treba i neka ga ne bude!

Hadžifejzović: Idemo dalje... ovo je prostor između Studija C i studija D... Evo i majstora... Tu smo na poprištu ovog događaja! Ovo je predvorje Studija C... Ovo su kamere koje su već davno, davno odslužile svoj radni vijek, ali i one su poput bosanskih ljudi toliko istrajne da su još uvijek u funkciji. Makso, koliko sam čuo one su odradile osam hiljada radnih sati!

Maksimović: Jesu, čak su radile u momentu eksplozije. One su još od 1984. godine, još od Olimpijade. Pet hiljada radnih sati im je maksimum. Onda se bacaju...

Hadžifejzović: Evo, majstori su provalili vrata Studija C... Odavde sam sinoć vodio Dnevnik... evo iza ovog stola... Granata je uletjela tamo u desnom ćošku... Komplet studio je uništen.

Granata koja je pogodila Studio C nije namjenski "poslana" u ovaj studio. Radi se o zaista nevjerovatnoj situaciji. Raketni projektil je preletio naš studio, nije odmah eksplodirao, odbio se od suprotnog i još nekih zidova naše zgrade i onda legao" pored Studija C i tek tu eksplodirao! Nevjerovatno...

...Evo nas u ratnom prostoru gdje se izdaje tehnika snimateljima.

Ovdje je Malik, naš organizator. Ja sam s njim bio u desku kad je "udarilo"!

Malik, moram da te "otkucam"!

lmao si dojam da neko pretura, premješta namještaj, prije eksplozije!

Malik Žoljić, organizator: Da neko seli, premješta mašine gore! ... Sve se potreslo kao poslije zemljotresa... da se kreće... Hvala dragom Allahu, sve je dobro prošlo.

Hadžifejzović: Ovo je jedna od naših legendi, Muhamed Haćimić. Kad je bio mlađi imao je nadimak Pinca. Paradoks je u tome da toliko terena prodete kao snimatelji televizije, a nažalost, ovdje...









28 June 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Haćimić: What's all this formality? This is the most shattering thing that's ever happened to us...

Hadžifejzović: Did you film it?

Haćimić: Too right I did.

Hadžifejzović: Thanks, Pinca. Thank you, Pinca.

Here's Fahro, another cameraman. He's like Pinca and Mulaomerović, often just grabs a camera and goes out around town to film shells landing...

Fahrudin Mulahuseinović, cameraman: All they can do with this is to make us more determined than ever to go on fighting to win.

Hadžifejzović: Vlatko Filipović, editor of the Documentary programme... I'm making this as a documentary, so God willing...

Vlatko Filipović, editor and author: Well, God willing everything'll be all right, as indeed it is. They're attacking us, we're acting in self-defence. And those who fight in self-defence always win.

Hadžifejzović: Here we are at the Desk. What's the weather going to be like, that's the most important thing right now...

Esad Kirlić, weatherman: The weather will still be bad today, but it'll improve tomorrow.

Hadžifejzović: Here's Tarik, too, between two mouthfuls.

Tarik Helić, newscaster: They can't do a thing to us. We'll hold out, God willing. Sabr! Hadžifejzović: They're still targeting us. Targeting us again! You were the coolest of us all. I heard your comment: 'Oh, but it's gone off!'

Helić: Yes. And sabr. Sabr. That's what must come first.

Hadžifejzović: And here's Ahmed Hadžijamaković, General Manager. I can see you're always on the go.

Hadžijamaković, General Manager of TV Bosnia and Herzegovina: Do you know what the impressions are?

The most important thing is that everyone reacted simultaneously, immediately, everyone was in his proper place and working even though no one told them what or how they should be doing.

Haćimić: Our people are back from the hospital! Come on, let's have a look at you.









Haćimić: Je l' ti to mene persiraš? Ovo je najpotresnije što nam se desilo...

Hadžifejzović: Snimio si ovo?

Haćimić: Bezbeli.

Hadžifejzović: Hvala ti Pinca. Hvala Vam, Pinca...

...Evo, Fahre, snimatelja... on je često, kao i Pinca i Mulaomerović, uzimao kameru i od kuće išao da snima po gradu granate koje padaju...

Fahrudin Mulahuseinović, snimatelj: Samo nam ovim još više podstreka mogu da daju, da istrajemo u ovoj našoj borbi.

Hadžifejzović: Vlatko Filipović, urednik Dokumentarnog programa... Ja ovo pravim za dokument, pa ako bog da...

Viatko Filipović, urednik, autor: Pa, ako bog da, biće sve u redu, kao i što jeste. Oni nas napadaju, mi se branimo. I onaj ko se brani on uvijek pobijedi!

Hadžifejzović: Evo nas u desku. Kakvo će biti vrijeme, ovo je "bitno" u ovom momentu...

Esad Kirlić, meteorolog: Vrijeme će danas biti još uvijek loše, a sutra će se popraviti!

Hadžifejzović: Evo ga i Tarik, između dva zalogaja.

Tarik Helić, spiker: Ne mogu nam ništa. Mi ćemo istrajati, ako bog da. Sabur!

Hadžifejzović: Još uvijek gađaju. Opet gađaju!... Ti si bio najhladnokrvniji. Čuo sam tvoj komentar... "Uh, al' je puklo!"

Helić: Da. 1 "sabur". Sabur. To prvo mora vladati.

Hadžifejzović: Tu je i Ahmed Hadžijamaković, direktor. Vidim, trčiš stalno...

Hadžijamaković, direktor Televizije BiH: Znaš koji su dojmovi? Najvažnije je da su svi ljudi funkcionisali u istoj sekundi, odmah, bili na svom mjestu i radili, a da im niko nije rekao ni šta ni kako treba da rade!

Haćimić: Vratili su se naši iz bolnice! Hajde, molim te, da ih vidiš!









28 June 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Mirko, a while ago you are really... I had a real fright.

Mirko Lisov, mixer: I'm fine ... it's just glass that did this... I hope everyone else is alive and well.

Hadžifejzović: Why did you come back?

Lisov: What, here? Where was I supposed to go? This is home, I don't have anywhere else.

Hadžifejzović: What's wrong with your hands? How many stitches have you got? What's this, they're

here, there, all over.

Lisov: Everywhere. I'm a regular tapestry!

Hadžifejzović: Here's two of our old legendary figures. Come over here! This is Mr Izudin Isović. Every new TV Bosnia and Herzegovina General Manager first has to pass a test with him.

Izudin Isović, Deputy General Manager: It was hell, but we got ourselves organized pretty quickly. Everyone's at work...

Hadžifejzović: And some of them are even wearing ties. Here's Miro Močinić. Connecting things up, transferring the technology from one place to another. . . I must say I'm amazed by your efficiency.

Miro Močinić, Assistant to the General Manager: The good thing is that we're well organized as an institution, otherwise there'd have been real panic. The programme's going out.

Hadžifejzović: What's this? Here's Robert from the telex...he's got some news, let me have a look, so we can be right up to date, even though this is a documentary. 'According to the latest information on the shelling of the RTV Centre, four people were killed and thirty-eight injured, claims the Republic Ministry of Health'. To tell the truth we don't have information that there were so many casualties...

This is the premises where Reuters TV, WTN, ARD, ZDF were located, and this here is the Eurovision Centre. So this is a postcard for Europe... This is the Centre, this is where all the links and news went out to the world at large from Sarajevo. That's Eurovision, this is Europe... this is sensitive technology, all smashed up.

Marija, a cleaner: I can't... that's all I can say.

Hadžifejzović: Now the question is, given that all this technology has been destroyed, how will the news of the shelling get out into the world? The CNN technology was on the roof of the building, it's safe, and that's how the news will get out. We're still confused by the information from the Ministry of Health that four people have been killed. Our information is that only one man was killed, a security officer.









Hadžlíejzović: Mirko, maloprije si bio stvarno... ja sam se bio prepao...

Mirko Lisov, mikser: Dobro je... od stakla je ovo... Nadam se samo da su i ostali živi i zdravi...

Hadžifejzović: Što si se vratio?

Lisov: Gdje, ovdje ?... Pa, gdje ću?... Moj dom, nemam drugog!

Hadžifejzović: Šta ti je sa rukama?... Koliko imaš kopči?... Gdje su te šili, tu, ovdje, svugdje!

Lisov: Svuda! Ko GOBLEN sam!!!

Hadžifejzović: Evo ih, stare dvije legende. Dođi ovamo! To je gospodin Izudin Isović... Svi generalni direktori RTV BiH koji dolaze, prolaze prvo kurs kod njega...

Izudin Isović, pomoćnik generalnog direktora: Bilo je pakleno, ali mi se brzo organizujemo... Svi su siti, svi su na radnim mjestima...

HadžifeJzović: I neki su sa kravatama... Tu je i Miro Močinić... Prespajanja, prebacivanje tehnike iz jednog prostora u drugi... Mogu reći da sam ja zaprepašten tom efikasnošću.

Miro Močinić, pomoćnik generalnog direktora: Važno je da smo mi kao kuća dobro organizovani, inače bi širili paniku... Program ide.

Hadžifejzović: Šta je? Evo, Roberta, iz teleksa... ima neku informaciju, da vidimo, da budemo aktuelni, iako je ovo dokument... "Prema najnovijim informacijama u današnjem raketiranju RTV-doma ubijene su četiri osobe a ranjeno 38, utvrdilo je Ministarstvo zdravlja Republike"... Iskreno, mi nemamo informaciju o tolikim žrtvama...

...Ovo je prostor u kojem su bili smješteni: Rojters TV, WTN, ARD, ZDF... a ovo ovdje je Evrovizijski centar... Dakle, ovo je jedna razglednica za Evropu...

Ovo je centar odakle su išle sve veze, informacije iz Sarajeva prema svijetu... To je Evrovizija, ovo je Evropa... to je senzibilna tehnika koja je upropaštena...

Marija, spremačica: ... Ja ne mogu... pričati više...

Hadžifejzović: Sada je pitanje, kada je ova tehnika uništena, kako je informacija o granatiranju otišla u svijet? Radi se o tome da je CNN tehniku izmjestio na krov zgrade, sačuvao je i tako je vijest otišla u svijet... Još smo zbunjeni informacijom Ministarstva zdravlja da je četvoro ljudi poginulo. Mi imamo informaciju da je jedan čovjek iz obezbjeđenja poginuo...









28 June 1995

We're going towards AP, theirs are the premises that are the most seriously damaged. I think | heard the voice of our cameraman Tomo Marić, who's served longer than anyone else in this war. He's visited all the battlefields of Croatia and Bosnia. I don't know what to ask you.

Tomo Marić, cameraman: What can you ask. . . It's all here. This was where RTL was, and Sky, and NBC, WTN, ZDF, CNN, the lot.

Hadžifejzović: How did the signal get out, the first news?

Marić: CNN was the first to react, they linked up direct with the satellite. Margaret, their camera person, coped best. She's the girl who was injured at the beginning of the war in Sarajevo. She dashed out at once. Their satellite's been saved, it's here somewhere.

Hadžifejzović: Margaret, would you come over here, please? This is Margaret. She was the first to react. You've now got the first images of this, the ones that have been broadcast the world over. You were injured two years ago.

Margaret Mot, CNN camera person: Three years ago...

Hadžifejzović: And you're back in Sarajevo. Why? Because you're a professional? Or because you love Sarajevo?

Margaret: I care about the people of Sarajevo. . . that's all.

Hadžifejzović: Here we are in the Info block. This is literally the heart of the television. Here, they're reporting the rocket attack on RIV Bosnia and Herzegovina on CNN. This is where our interpreter works. Have you managed to record the CNN report?

Mersiha, interpreter: Yes, there've been three reports already, the first was fifteen minutes after the shelling, they report one dead and thirty-five injured. . . Hadžifejzović: You're new here, aren't you?

Mersiha: Yes, I am. My name's Mersiha.

Hadžifejzović: Well, good luck with the work. This was a real baptism of fire.









...Idemo prema AP-u, to je prostor koji je najviše stradao... Mislim da sam čuo glas našeg snimatelja Tome Marića, čovjeka sa najdužim ratnim stažom. Obišao je sva ratišta u Hrvatskoj i Bosni... Ne znam šta da te pitam...

Tomo Marić, snimatelj: Šta ćeš me pitati... sve je tu... Ovdje je bio RTL, SKY, NBC, WTN, ZDF, CNN, sve kompanije...

Hadžlfejzović: Kako je otišao signal odavde, prva vijest?

Marić: CNN je prvi reagovao, prikopčao se direktno na satelit. Margaret, snimatelj se najbolje snašla ... To je ona djevojka što je bila ranjena na početku rata u Sarajevu. Odmah je izletjela... Njihov satelit je sačuvan, tu negdje.

Hadžifejzović: Margaret, molim te dodi! Ovo je Margaret. Ona je prva koja je reagovala. Ti sada imaš prve slike o ovome koje su otišle u svijet...

... Ti si ranjena prije dvije godine

Margaret Mot, snimateli CNN-a: Prije tri godine...

Hadžifejzović: 1 opet si u Sarajevu. Zašto? Profesionalac si... ili... voliš Sarajevo...

Margaret: Brinem za ljude u Sarajevu... i to je to...

Hadžifejzović...: Evo nas u Info bloku. Ovo je bukvalno "srce Televizije"... Evo, na CNN-u ide izvještaj o raketiranju RTVBiH. Ovdje rade naše "prevodilice". Jesi li uspjela da snimiš izvještaje CNN-a?

Mersiha, prevodilac: Da, već tri izvještaja, javili su se prvi put petnaest minuta poslije granatiranja, izvještavaju da je jedan poginuo a 35 ranjeno...

Hadžifejzović: Ti si nova medu nama?

Mersiha: Jesam. Zovem se Mersiha.

Hadžifejzović: E, nek ti je sretan rad. Ovo ti je bilo "vatreno krštenje"...











5 July 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The International Red Cross and Merhamet today distributed literally the last small supplies from the stores to the areas of Sarajevo at greatest risk of starvation.

Food is not getting through either to Sarajevo or to the other 'safe areas'.

As though it were some kind of black marketeer, UNPROFOR is trying to bring a few truckloads over Igman, without making use of any of its available military potential.

The local, Bosniac/Muslim-run humanitarian agency

At a session of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the situation was assessed as critical, while in the enclaves it is judged to be disastrous.

5 July 1995 NEWS TVBIH

Croatian opposition party leaders Dražen Budiša, Stipe Mesić, Ivica Račan, Radimir Čačić, Silvije Degen and Joško Kovač are visiting Sarajevo today.

Together with representatives of all the parliamentary parties of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they signed the 'Sarajevo Statement', a document which includes the words:

'Bosnia and Herzegovina must be a sovereign, federal state of Bosniacs, Croats and Seros, a Federation of three peoples, with a cantonal structure.'

July 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Quite unexpectedly, the Americans have taken a part in the 'Bosnian film', and militarily at that. A respectable number of US soldiers, exceptionally well armed and without 'official announcement', have suddenly arrived in Italy.

Still more improbably, these American troops will not be operating under UNPROFOR, but under NATO

They will operate autonomously, wnich means they will carry out the orders of US President Clinton.

What's going on here?

... A not so discreet military semi-encirclement is forming around Serbia. US pilotless aircraft in Albania, German Tornado aircraft very, very close to Serbia, and now, the arrival in Italy, unannounced, of the Yanks, who can be over here in a flash...









05. juli 1995.

Međunarodni Crveni krst i Merhamet danas su najugroženijim Sarajlijama podijelili, bukvalno, posljednje male zalihe iz svojih magacina.

U Sarajevo i "zaštićene zone" ne dolazi hrana.

UNPROFOR, kao kakav švercer, pokušava preko Igmana dovući po koji kamion ne koristeći se pri tom nijednom od vojnih mogućnosti koje su mu na raspolaganju.

Na sjednici Vlade BiH humanitama situacija je ocijenjena kao kritična, a u enklavama kao katastrofalna.

05. juli 1995.

U Sarajevu danas borave prvaci hrvatskih opozicionih stranaka Dražen Budiša, Stipe Mesić, Ivica Račan, Radimir Čačić, Silvije Degen, Joško Kovač.

Oni su zajedno sa predstavnicima svih parlamentarnih stranaka BiH potpisali "Sarajevsku izjavu", dokument u kojem, između ostalog, stoji:

"Bosna i Hercegovina mora biti suverena, federalna država Bošnjaka, Hrvata i Srba, kantonalno ustrojena federacija tri naroda..."

07. juli 1995.

Sasvim neočekivano u "bosanski film" uključuju se Amerikanci, i to vojno. Priličan broj američkih vojnika sa izuzetnim naoružanjem i bez "službene najave" iznenada dolazi u Italiju.

Ova američka vojna formacija neće djelovati ni u sastavu UNPROFOR-a, niti će, što je još najvjerovatnije, biti pod komandom NATO-a.

Djelovaće samostalno, odnosno izvršavati ono što joj naredi američki predsjednik Clinton.

0 čemu je riječ?

...Oko Srbije se formira, ne toliko ni diskretno, jedno vojno poluokruženje. Američki bespilotni avioni u Albaniji, njemački avioni "Tornado" koji su vrlo, vrlo blizu Srbiji i evo, nenajavljeni dolazak amera u Italiju koji začas mogu doći ovamo...









7 July 1995 NEWS TVBIH

Yet another great Sarajevan, a great artists, one of our greatest, has died in Sarajevo. An entire universe of love and pain remains on the canvases of Ibrahim Ljubović, who died in his beloved Sarajevo at the age of fifty-eight.

Ibrahim Ljubović, painter, May 1994:

What can I say?
Come on, let's say it's a bit tough...
An artist has to resist this evil
with this skill, this work, this love of his

Even if an artist doesn't know how to hold a gun he can hold a paintbrush or a pen, he can touch the piano keys.

The artist is always outside such evil.

A true artist cannot be evil.

There cannot be an atom of evil in the artist.





Još jedan veliki Sarajlija, jedan veliki Umjetnik, jedan od najvećih koje smo imali, umro je u Sarajevu. Jedan cijeli kosmos ljubavi i bola ostao je na platnima Ibrahima Ljubovića koji je u 58. godini umro u svom Sarajevu.

Ibrahim Ljubović, slikar, maj 1994.:

Šta bih rekao? Hajde da kažem da je malo teško... Umjetnik se mora oduprijeti tom zlu tim svojim umijećem, tim svojim poslom, tom svojom ljubavlju

Umjetnik ako ne zna i ne može da drži pušku može kist, može pero, može dirku na klaviru.

Umjetnik je uvijek van tih zala. Pravi umjetnik ne može biti zao. U umjetniku ne može biti ni trunke zla.









18 July 1995 NEWS TVBIH

The footage that you are about to see was filmed in Srebrenica and edited by the TV company WTN. using the Eurovision exchange. This footage is definitive proof of the unprecedented 'hunt' for the people who have been driven out of Srebrenica, organized by Serb troops in the surrounding forests.

You can see the aggressor using Prag anti-aircraft weapons to target the paths along which people are trying to escape.

At the same time enemy troops are on the ground hunting down the people leaving Sreorenica.

These are some people who were captured as they were fleeing. As you can see from the images, they are wounded.

These are people killed and injured in the forests around Srebrenica.

These are images of Srebrenica itself, a deserted town where there is nothing but enemy troops and their armaments. Just a few dozen Serb civilians have returned to the town. And this is just to be filmed for propaganda purposes.

These are Bosniacs killed in the town itself.

And finally - an abandoned UNPROFOR APC - evidence of the cowardice of the 'international community'.

One thing is instilling new strength in the Bosnians - the fact that many municipalities not under enemy occupation are offering to take in the refugees. This solidarity is the best news of the fate of the refugees.

We must help one another, alleviate one another's pain, accept the refugees as though they were our nearest and dearest. Solidarity is the road to victory.

Eight times in recent history the people of Srebrenica have been forced to leave their town and each time they have returned.











TV kompanija WTN u evrovizijsku razmjenu je spremila snimke koje ćete upravo vidjeti a koji su načinjeni u Srebrenici. Ovi snimci su definitivni dokaz o neviđenom "lovu" na srebreničke prognanike koje su srpske jedinice organizovale po okolnim šumama.

Na snimku vidite kako agresor iz protivavionskih oruđa "praga"gada staze kojima se probijaju izbjeglice.

Za to vrijeme agresorski vojnici su na terenu i love ljude koji se povlaće iz Srebrenice.

Ovo su uhvaćeni prognanici. Vidite na snimku da su ranjeni.

To su ubijeni i ranjeni po šumama oko Srebrenice.

Ovo su snimci Srebrenice, praznog grada u kojem se nalaze samo agresorski vojnici i njihova oruđa. U ovaj grad je, inače, vraćeno samo nekoliko desetina srpskih civila. Tu su tek da se slikaju za potrebe propagande...

Ovo su ubijeni Bošnjaci u samom gradu.

l na kraju napušteni transporter UNPROFOR-a -dokaz kukavičluka međunarodne zajednice.

Ono što u ovoj tragediji ulijeva novu snagu Bosancima jeste da se mnoge slobodne opštine nude da prihvate prognanike. Ova solidamost je najljepša vijest o sudbini prognanika. Moramo pomoći jedni drugima, ublažiti bol, prihvatiti izbjegle kao najrođenije. Solidamost znači put ka pobjedi.

Srebreničani su tokom novije historije čak osam puta morali pod pritiskom da napuštaju Srebrenicu i svaki put su se vratili u ovaj grad...











23 July 1995

The quantity of news items we have received today and their content give us the right to describe today as one of the most dramatic of the entire war.

Žepa, Bihać, Sarajevo, Goražde are all under fierce attack by the aggressor forces on the one hand while on the other there is an unusually vigorous reaction from the West.

If the West had previously been really resolute, it would have been enough to threaten the Serbs, and there would already have been a reaction...

'The Serbs must not cross the red line around Goražde' is the message from London. There is no doubt that the West could demonstrate its resolve immediately in the case of Goražde, since this is what's already happening there. The town is under attack. There is no reason for the West to wait.

Eye witnesses say a really 'cosmic war' was being waged last night between UNPROFOR and the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressors in Sarajevo.

Two Frenchmen have been killed in an attack on an UNPROFOR convoy and base. France's President Chirac reacted in the afternoon by telling the Serbs their barracks around Sarajevo would be targeted. Chirac also said that the Serbs must realize that the world will not allow the survival of the Muslims, of UNPROFOR and of the Allied forces to be called into question in this area.

A very interesting context.

A powerful explosion was heard in Pale today. The explosion occurred to the south of the little town at a time when NATO aircraft were overflying Sarajevo. Asked whether this was NATO military going into action from Naples, from NATO command headquarters, UNPROFOR replied that they had no idea, which cannot be right...

We don't have any aircraft.

23 July 1995

NEWS TVBIH

For the first time Yasushi Akashi has not attended a peace meeting in London.

When one recalls how much misery the roving little yellow man has brought upon Bosnia then his excommunication from the chain of command is of prime significance.

Yasushi Akashi – such a little Japanese and such a great Serb.







Brojne informacije koje smo danas dobili i njihov sadržaj daju nam za pravo da ovaj dan okarakterišemo kao jedan od najdramatičnijih u toku ovog rata.

Žestoki napadi agresora na Žepu, Bihać, Sarajevo, Goražde, s jedne, i neuobičajeno oštre reakcije sa Zapada, s druge...

...Zapad, zaista ako je odlučan, dovoljno je prijetnji Srbima uputio i već bi trebalo i da reaguje... ..."Srbi ne smiju preći crvenu liniju oko Goražda" - to je poruka iz Londona.

Zapad sasvim sigurno može odmah demonstrirati svoju odlučnost u slučaju Goražde jer se tamo to već dešava. Ovaj grad se napada. Zapad nema šta da čeka...

Pravi, pravcati, očevici kažu "svemirski rat" vodio se sinoć između UNPROFOR -a i srpskocrnogo-rskog agresora u Sarajevu.

U napadu agresora na konvoj i bazu UNPROFOR-a ubijena su dva Francuza.

Tim povodom poslijepodne, francuski predsjednik Širak je Srbima poručio da će gađati njihove kasame oko Sarajeva.

Širak još kaže da Srbi moraju shvatiti da svijet neće dozvoliti da dođe u pitanje opstanak muslimana, UNPROFOR-a i savezničkih snaga na ovom prostoru!

Veoma zanimljiv kontekst.

Na Palama se danas čula veoma jaka eksplozija. Eksplozija se desila južno od ovog gradića u isto vrijeme kada su iznad Sarajeva prolijetali avioni NATO-a.

Na pitanje UNPROFOR-a da li je to NATO borbeno djelovao iz Napulja, iz komande NATO-a stigao je odgovor da oni pojma nemaju, što i ne mora biti tačno...

Mi nismo, mi nemamo avione.

23. juli 1995.

Prvi put mirovnom skupu u Londonu nije prisustvovao Jasuši Akaši. Kada se sjetimo koliko je zla mali, žuti, leteći, nanio Bosni, onda njegovo ekskomuniciranje iz lanca odluka ima prvorazredni značaj.

Jasuši Akaši tako mali Japanac a veliki Srbin.







23 July 1995 NEWS TVBIH

The Declaration signed yesterday in Split by Presidents Izetbegović and Tudman can be described as an agreement that had to happen. There is no need to do violence to the Agreement by looking for elements of /unexpected or historic/ love in it.

The Split declaration is not a declaration of love, and so be it.

The Declaration has been purged of every shred of the communist heritage, 'brotherhood and unity' reduced to Croat-Bosniac relations, exaggerated 'understanding', artificial cordiality. The Declaration is thus the product of mutual interests, of necessity, of the threat from a com mon enemy. And so be it. As such, it seems somehow more serious, more resolute. More 'western'. Of course, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina now looks forward to the Republic of Croatia's implementing the Split accord in practice, particularly in the Bihać area.

23 July 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Almost overnight, the Srebrenica tragedy has jolted the conscience of West and East alike, of European Christians and Asian Muslims.

/British Prime Minister John/ Major has not minced his words, calling the Serbs barbarians. Although this hasn't washed away a single stain of Srebrenican blood, it does mean something

The West has not yet readied its aircraft for the Serbs, but it has put together a Rapid Reaction Force. So something is changing.

The reaction of the East is very interesting, and if we are to be a little emotional, even touching. We are seeing the phenomenon of the 'leadership' of Islamic countries, who have constantly been under the shadow of greater authorities, Saudi Arabia, say, now taking the initiative.

Thus Malaysia, which many Bosniacs undoubtedly didn't even know was a Muslim country, is now openly offering to supply Bosnia and Herzegovina with arms.

The Bosniacs are discovering only now that Sandokan, the 'Tiger of Malaysia', is in fact a Muslim. Jordan's King Hussein has made a gesture that surpasses any move made by any Royal Highness. He is offering to become an ordinary Bosnian soldier.

It doesn't matter whether he actually comes here, from a King it's enough that he said it. Where Jordan is concerned, another issue is in the forefront.

At Jordan's initiative, funds are being raised for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Yesterday Israeli Prime Minister Yitzkak Rabin gave three thousand US dollars from his own pocket for this action. Unbelievable but true, even his opponents, the Palestinians, have decid ed to set aside a per centage of their wages as aid to Bosnia.

All of them. Palestinian Muslims and Palestinian Christians.

So Bosnia has become of global importance. Bosnia is at last, in some matters at least, bringing East and West closer together, and even Israelis and Palestinians, Muslims, Jews and Christians.









Deklaracija koju su juče u Splitu potpisali predsjednici lzetbegović i Tuđman može se okarakterisati kao sporazum koji se neminovno morao desiti.

Ne treba "silovati" ovaj sporazum i u njemu tražiti elemente ljubavi /naprasne ili historijske/. Splitska deklaracija nije ljubav i neka nije.

Deklaracija je očišćena od svih komunističkih zaostavština, "bratstva i jedinstva" reduciranog na hrvatsko-bošnjačke relacije, pretjeranog "razumijevanja", vještačke srdačnosti.

Deklaracija je, dakle, produkt obostranih interesa, nužde, ugroženosti od istog neprijatelja. I neka je. Ona kao takva djeluje ozbiljnije, odlučnije. Nekako "zapadnjački".

Naravno, Republika BiH sada od Republike Hrvatske očekuje i praktičnu provedbu Splitskog dogovora, pogotovu na teritoriju Bihaća.

23. juli 1995.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Gotovo preko noći, tragedija Srebrenice promijenila je svijest i Zapada i Istoka i evropskih kršćana i azijskih muslimana.

Mejdžor je bez uvijanja Srbe nazvao barbarima.

To nije opralo ni jednu srebreničku mrlju krvi ali ipak nešto znači.

Zapad još nije spremio avione na Srbe, ali jeste trupe za brzu akciju.

Dakle, nešto se mijenja.

Reakcija Istoka je veoma zanimljiva, ako hoćemo biti emotivni, čak dirljiva. Ono što je fenomen jeste "liderstvo" islamskih zemalja koje su stalno bile u sjeni velikih autoriteta, recimo Saudijske Arabije, a koje sada preuzimaju inicijativu.

Tako Malezija, za koju sigurno mnogo Bošnjaka nije ni znalo da je i islamska zemlja, sada otvoreno nudi oružje Bosni i Hercegovini.

Tako Bošnjaci tek sada znaju da je Sandokan, "Tigar sa Malezije" ustvari Musliman.

Jordanski kralj Husein čini gest koji prevazilazi bilo koji potez, bilo kojeg njegovog veličanstva kralja. On se nudi da postane obični bosanski vojnik!

Uopšte nije bitno da li će on doći ovdje, od kralja to što je rekao-dovoljno je.

Druga stvar, kada je Jordan u pitanju, u prvom je planu.

Na inicijativu Jordana prikupljaju se novčana sredstva za Republiku BiH.

Izraelski premijer Jicak Rabin jučer je uplatio u ovoj akciji, iz svog džepa, tri hiljade američkih dolara! Nevjerovatno ali istinito, čak i njegovi protivnici, Palestinci, donijeli su odluku da od svojih primanja odvoje procenat kao pomoć Bosni.

Svi, i Palestinci muslimani, i Palestinci kršćani.

Tako Bosna postaje planetarno važna. Tako Bosna konačno, bar u nekim pitanjima, zbližuje lstok i Zapad, pa čak Izraelce i Palestince, muslimane, jevreje i kršćane.









23 July 1995

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights for the former Yugoslavia, has resigned from his post, dissatisfied with, we quote, 'the total lack of courage of the UN in the case of Srebrenica and Žepa'.

Mazowiecki's resignation is an honourable deed, yet another item in the indictment for crimes in Bosnia against the complicity of the 'west' but, at the same time, his resignation is an unprecedented service to the aggressor whose crimes and violations of human rights Mazowiecki zealously recorded.







27 July 1995 NEWS TVBIH

Today is 27 July, Day of the uprising of the peoples and nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the fascists.

It seems it's high time for us to have another uprising, all of us together.

23. juli 1995.

DNEVNIK TVBIH

Tadeuš Mazovjecki, specijalni izvjestitelj UN-a za ljudska prava sa područja bivše Jugoslavije, podnio je ostavku na tu funkciju, nezadovoljan, citiramo, "potpunim odsustvom hrabrosti UN-a u slučaju Srebrenica i Žepa".

Ostavka Mazovjeckog je častan čin, još jedan dodatak optužnici za zločin u Bosni na račun saučesništva "Zapada", ali, istovremeno, njegova ostavka je nevidena usluga agresoru čije je zločine i povrede ljudskih prava Mazovjecki revnosno bilježio.







27. juli 1995. DNEVNIK TVBIH

Danas je 27. juli, Dan ustanka naroda i narodnosti Bosne i Hercegovine protiv fašista.

Izgleda da je krajnje vrijeme da još jednom, svi skupa, džematile ustanemo.

27 July 1995

NEWS TVBIH

General Mladić, whom the Hague Prosecutor Justice Goldstone has included on the list of war or mina's is becoming a media personality, and as such is exposed to all kinds of comment.

All of them, naturally, negative.

This is a comment on Radio France international, RFI. Stanko Cerović.

'The excitement began for him in Kosovo.

He tasted blood for the first time in Knin...

In Knin he was still defending the Partisans' interpretation of Serbian nationalism, following his family tradition.

In Bosnia he seems, abruptly and very decidedly, to have chosen to embrace the chetnik way...

Is he a good solider? Well, that's the question, for when someone knows his trade, even if it's the worst trade in the world, there's something human in him and some kind of self-discipline.

Ideologically he's as narrow-minded as the worst of nationalists. . .

Many things are said about Mladić: that he's a fine general, that he's brave, that he's crazy, so crazy it's terrifying – so says one UNPROFOR officer.

One hears various things about his behaviour, concoctions rather, but no one's ever heard anyone refer to any scene, any single word that might lead one to think this man has a trace of clemency, of sympathy, of ordinary fellow-feeling for anyone.

And that's how he acts, too ...

Mladić hasn't waged a single true battle in this war yet. Almost every operation was merely ethnic cleansing of civilians and armoured attacks on infantry.

Nor was there any great skill involved in this choice of tactics; the Serbs in Bosnia were the only ones with an Army and armaments...

If Mladic had dared to take the risk and advance with his infantry, perhaps he really could have ended the war. He relied on 'leading people by the nose', excessive bombardment and torturing civilians. This looks more like fear of real battle or of military defeat. It looks more like playing safe... Mladic's victories have been blown up out of all proportion thanks to Western diplomacy.

His twenty-three year old daughter committed suicide last year; perhaps her father's fame wasn't the reason, but it's hard to claim that it had absolutely no connection with it...

Mladić has never shown that he was affected by this, but who knows: in the midst of the Bosnian butchery, even Mladić is sometimes alone, surrounded by silence. If even then not a whisper from the tortured Bosnians gets through to him, maybe his daughter's despair does so...

So maybe a trace of humanity is still to be found in the General as a result of his family tragedy.







General Mladic, kojeg je tužilac Goldston stavio na listu ratnih zločinaca, postaje medijska ličnost i kao takav izložen svakojakim komentarima.

U svim komentarima on je, naravno, negativac.

Slijedi komentar francuskog međunarodnog radija, RFI. Stanko Cerović

"Na kosovu je za njega počelo uzbuđenje.

U kninu je prvi put okusio kry....

"U kninu je još uvijek branio partizansku interpretaciju srpskog nacionalizma, po porodičnoj tradiciji.

U Bosni je izgleda naglo i vrlo odlučno prigrlio četničku...

...le li on dobar vojnik? - eto, to je pitanje jer kad neko zna svoj zanat -pa makar to bio najgori zanat na svijetu - ima neŝto ljudsko u njemu i neke samodiscipline.

Ideološki je zatucan kao najgori nacionalista...

"Ĉuju se mnoge stvari o Mladiću: da je odličan general, da je hrabar, da je lud, toliko lud da vam zadaje strah - kaže jedan oficir UNPROFOR-a.

Čuju se razni detalji o njegovom ponašanju, tačnije izmišljeni, ali nikad se ne čuje da je neko pomenuo jednu jedinu scenu, jednu jedinu riječ u kojoj bi se naslutilo da ovaj čovjek ima trag milosti, sažaljenja, običnog suosjećanja za ljude.

Tako i djeluje...

...Nijednu pravu bitku u ovom ratu Mladić još nije vodio. Skoro sve operacije se svode na čišćenje civila i napade oklopnim vozilima na pješake.

Ni takav izbor taktike nije mudrost, Srbi su u Bosni jedini imali Armiju i oružje...

Da se Mladić usudio da rizikuje i napreduje pješadijom, možda je zaista mogao završiti rat. Oslonio se na "razvlačenje mozga" pretjeranim bombardovanjem i torturom nad civilima. To previše liči na strah od prave bitke ili vojnog neuspjeha.

Djeluje ziheraški...Mladićeve pobjede su preuveličane zahvaljujući zapadnoj diplomatiji.

Njegova dvadesetrogodišnja kćerka je izvršila samoubistvo prošle godine, uzrok možda nije očeva slava ali je teško tvrditi da nema baš nikakve veze sa njom...

Mladić ničim nije pokazao da ga je to pogodilo, ali ko zna: usred bosanskog pokolja i Mladić nekad ostane sam i oko njega tišina. Ako ga ne stiže ni tada šapat bosanskih mučenika, možda ga stigne ćerkin očaj...

Tako bi kroz porodičnu tragediju u ovom generalu mogao da opstane trag ljudskosti."





1 August 1995 NEWS HRT

LIVE link with Radio TV Croatia News

Saša Kopljar: We are now in direct communication with Sarajevo, where our colleague Serad Hada Go. jzović is waiting to join us.

Hadžifejzović: I am speaking to you from outside the Radio Television Centre, so that you can see the aftermath of the shelling of our building, a month ago.

Kopljar: To what extent is the public in Bosnia and Herzegovina aware of the latest developments is Croatia, and how are the people of Sarajevo reacting?

Hadžifejzović: We are very well aware. Political parties and individuals from the media are sending messages of congratulation for the recapture of Knin. The people of Sarajevo are doing it in their own way, so using the old and revived Bosnian way of speaking they are saying that the Croats smashed the Serb defence easily, because it turned out to be so brittle, flaky and flabby.

Kopljar: We heard yesterday that the Serbs are taking revenge for their defeat by hammering Sarajevo.

Hadžifejzović: Yes. Karadžić, that war criminal, has threatened to retaliate 'wherever he can'. It's true that he threatened Croat towns, but we are rather closer to hand for him here in Sarajevo...

One of the side effects of extreme nationalism is an emphasis on linguistic differences as markers of nationhood. In Croatia this has taken the form of 'resuscitating' many obsolete Croatian words, while the Bosmacs are tending to emphasize the presence of the letter 'h' in many words which lack the letter in the Croatian or Serbian variants of the common language. Thus 'easily' is 'lahko' in Bosnian and Tako' in Croatian, white 'flabby' is 'menak' in Bosnian and 'mek' in Croatian. The play on words is made still more pointed by the fact that the words translated as 'fragile' and 'flaky' respectively 'kehak' and 'prhak' - have an 'n' in both variants, Bosnian and Croatian. Irans.



(UŽIVO) javljanje u program Hrvatske televizije. Dnevnik HRT-a

Saša Kopljar: U ovom trenutku u izravnoj smo vezi sa Sarajevom, gdje nas čeka kolega Senad Hadži-fejzović.

Hadžifejzović: Javljam se ispred radiotelevizijskog doma. Imate priliku vidjeti dio posljedica granatiranja našeg objekta od prije mjesec dana.

Kopljar: U kojoj je mjeri bh. javnost upoznata sa najnovijim događajima u Hrvatskoj i kakve su reakcije Sarajlija?

Hadžifejzović: Izuzetno smo dobro upoznati. Čestitke za osvajanje Knina upućuju stranke, mediji, pojedinci, Sarajlije čine to na svoj način, pa onako, u bosanskom staro a i u novogovoru kažu da su Hrvati LAHKO slomili srpsku odbranu koja se pokazala kao KRHKA, PRHKA I MEHKA.

Kopljar: Jučer smo čuli da se Srbi svete za poraze napadima na Sarajevo.

Hadžifejzović: Jeste. Karadžić, ratni zločinac, je prijetio da će izvršiti odmazdu "gdje god može da dobaci".

Prijetio je, doduše, više hrvatskim gradovima, ali mi smo mu ovdje u Sarajevu, nekako bliži...



NEWS TVBIH

Croatian forces are regaining territory in the Republic of Croatia at the rate of one k.p.h., but in several directions, so it now needs to be stepped up somewhat. . .

The liberation of Knin also helps Bihać.

At the same time, the Fifth Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina is making moves in two directions, which bodes ill both for Serb troops and for Abdić's secessionists. . .

Chicken-farmer Abdić, whose treason means that not a single newborn Bosniac boy bears the name Fikret, managed what not one enemy of this country has ever achieved – to turn brother against brother. Not even when the plans for Greater Serbia and Velika Kladuša fell apart did Abdić calm down. . .

Bosnia must give some thought to what will become of the Serb refugees from the /Croatian/ Krajina – whether they will come to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina or whether our country will serve them merely as a means of transit to Serbia.

These are people who are not wanted in Bosnia, or in Serbia, or in Europe.

4 August 1995

NEWS TVBIH

We have received news from Binać that members of Abdić's paramilitary units are surrendering to troops of the Fifth Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that Martić's /Serb troops in Croatia/ are doing the same.

Fikret Abdić has left for Knin by helicopter. Where he'll be met, no doubt, by Croat troops.

4 August 1995

NEWS TVBIH

One thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven marriages were held in Sarajevo last year. That's twenty more than the year before the war.

Three thousand two hundred and ten new little Sarajevans were born in Sarajevo last year. In the first four months of this year alone, 1632 babies have been born.

These statistics connote the obvious growth in love between those who have stayed here to defend Bosnia and Sarajevo in one way or another.

This successful race of Bosnian combatants from the battlefield to the bed

is yet another puzzle of this war for the historians . . .

Greater Serbia, in the language of the Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs, is 'Velika Serbija', Velika Kladuša is the town in the north-western Krajina region of Bosnia, on the border with Croatia, where Fikret Abdic's breakaway movement was centred, Trans.









04. avgust 1995.

Hrvatske snage vračaju teritorij Republike Hrvatske brzinom "jedan kilometar za jedan sat", ali iz više pravaca pa sada to nekako treba pomnožiti...

Oslobađanje Knina znači istovremeno i pomoć Bihaću.

Istovremeno, Peti korpus Armije BiH vrši pokrete u dva pravca, što znači da se ne pi<mark>še dobro</mark> ni srpskim formacijama ni Abdićevim secesionistima...

Peradar Abdić, zbog čije izdaje nijedno bošnjačko novorođenče ne nosi ime Fikret, napravio je ono što nijednom neprijatelju ove zemlje nije uspjelo, da okrene brata protiv brata.

Ni u momentima raspada planova velike Srbije i Velike Kladuše Abdić ne miruje...

Bosna se mora zamisliti nad tim šta će se desiti sa srpskim izbjeglicama iz Krajine /Hrvatska/, da li će doći na teritoriju Republike Bosne i Hercegovine ili će im ona poslužiti kao tranzit za Srbiju.

Ti ljudi su nepoželjni i u Bosni, i u Srbiji, i u Evropi...

04. avgust 1995.

Iz Bihaća smo dobili izvještaj u kojem se kaže da se jedinicama Petog korpusa Armije BiH predaju pripadnici Abdićevih paravojnih formacija, ali da to čine i "martićevci" /srpska vojska u Hrvatskoj, op.a./.

Fikret Abdić je helikopterom otišao do Knina. Gdje će, valjda, dočekati hrvatske postrojbe?!

04. avgust 1995.

Prošle godine u Sarajevu je sklopljeno 1857 brakova. Dvadeset više nego /u godini/ prije rata. U Sarajevu je prošle godine rođeno 3210 novih Sarajlija. Samo u prva četiri mjeseca ove godine 1632 bebe.

Tako statistika bilježi evidentan porast ljubavi među onima koji su ostali da ovako ili onako brane Bosnu i Sarajevo.

Ta uspješna trka bosanskih ratnika od ratišta do kreveta ostaje kao još jedna ratna zagonetka za historiju...









24 August 1995

LIVE in the studio, Minister of the Interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina Bakir Alispahić

Our guest today on the TV Bosnia and Herzegovina News is the Minister of the Interior of our country, Bakir Alispahić.

I should like you to show us your passport, a passport of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a very interesting page in it... This is a stamp from the Velika Kladuša border crossing from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Republic of Croatia.

This is the first proper border crossing of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina since its recognition as a sovereign, independent state.

This stamp is much more than symbolic.

To people in Sarajevo, who have been in a concentration camp for three and a half years, that term Freedom, even if it relates to some pretty restricted movement, seems quite unreal...

Alispahić: Quite so. We did feel a bit unreal there /in Bihać/... The people are behaving wonderfully there. There's no euphoria, no incidents, life goes on ...

Hadžifejzović: And now to problems. We are able to see the for the first time the area in Croatia where the refugees from Kladuša have been accommodated. The footage was filmed from a moving car, but our colleague Josip Ujević filmed it for all that...

Alispahić: The refugee convoy there is seven or eight kilometres long, there are about fifteen thousand refugees from Velika Kladuša. These are totally inhuman conditions. They have left behind their fine houses and flats and their property, which is waiting for them now. Fikret Abdić's autonomists have moved part of the population out at gunpoint. . .

Hadžifejzović: While the refugees are on their way, Abdić is poncing around the hotels /of Zagreb/.

Alispahić: About four hundred of Abdić's men are holding fifteen thousand people in a hopeless situation. They are hostages. Abdić is paying those people. . .

24 August 1995

A new detail that is unfavourable for Bosnia /this is a journalist's comment/ has been announced today by Clinton's adviser Antony Lake.

The plan is to partition Bosnia and Herzegovina into ethnic areas /a new variation on the expression Twilight zones/ while some kind of sovereignty would remain in the hands of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.









(UŽIVO) u studiju ministar unutrašnjih poslova BiH Bakir Alispahić

Gost Dnevnika Televizije BiH je ministar unutrašnjih poslova naše zemlje Bakir Alispahić. Ja bih Vas zamolio da pokažete Vaš pasoš, pasoš Republike BiH i jednu stranicu tog pasoša koja je veoma zanimljiva... To je pečat sa graničnog prijelaza Republike Bosne i Hercegovine u Republiku Hrvatsku kod Velike Kladuše!

To je prvi, pravi granični prijelaz Republike BiH otkako je priznata njena suverenost i nezavisnost. Taj pečat je puno više od simbolike.

Ljudima koji su u Sarajevu, koji su u logoru već tri i po godine, taj termin slobode, barem nekog ograničenog kretanja, nestvarno izgleda...

Alispahić: Upravo tako. Mi smo se tamo /u Bihaću/ osjećali malo nestvarno...Taj narod tamo se divno ponaša. Nema euforije, nema incidentnih ponašanja, svijet se okrenuo sebi, životu...

Hadžifejzović: Sada o problemima. U prilici smo da prvi put vidimo teritorij u Hrvatskoj gdje su se "smjestile" izbjeglice iz Kladuše. Snimak je načinjen u vožnji, ali naš kolega Josip Ujević je ipak snimio...

Alispahić: Kolona izbjeglica na tom potezu je sedam-osam kilometara i tu je oko petnaest hiljada izbjeglica iz Velike Kladuše... To su krajnje nehumani uslovi. Iza sebe su ostavili prelijepe kuće i stanove i svoje imetke koji ih čekaju sada. Autonomaši Fikreta Abdića pod prijetnjom oružjem iselili su jedan dio stanovnika...

Hadžifejzović: Dok su izbjeglice "na putu", Abdić se baškari po hotelu /Zagreb/.

Alispahić: Negdje oko četiri stotine pripadnika "abdićevaca" drži petnaest hiljada ljudi u teškoj, bezizlaznoj situaciji. Oni su taoci. Abdić plaća te ljude...

24. avgust 1995.

Novi detalj, nepovoljan po Bosnu /to je novinarski komentar/, danas je saopštio Clintonov savjetnik Antoni Lejk.

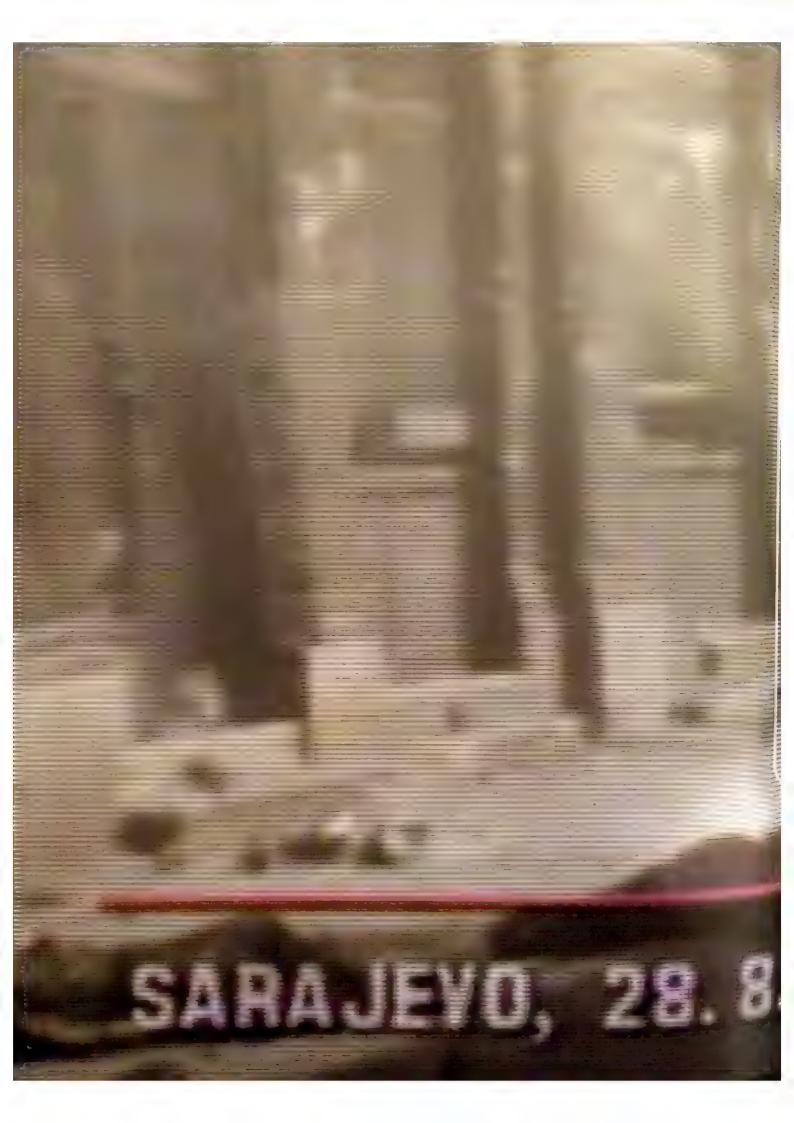
Prema tom planu, Bosna i Hercegovina bila bi podijeljena u etničke zone /to je nova varijanta izraza "zone sumraka"/ dok bi neka vrsta suverenosti ostala u rukama Vlade Bosne i Hercegovine...













28 August 1995

NEWS TVBIH

D DAY

Hadžifejzović: Today the chetniks carried out yet another massacre in Sarajevo.

A single shell, fired by the chetniks at the entrance of the City Market Hall, has killed thirty-five Sarajevans and seriously injured eighty-seven.

Sadly, the seriousness of the injuries is such that doctors expect the number of dead to rise.

The chetniks clearly knew, had information from within the city, that following the massacre in the Markale open market in February last year it had been closed, that the authorities had banned its use and that market traders and their customers had shifted to the Market Hall and, unfortunately, around it... The bombardment of Sarajevo continues...

Here are images that we must not forget...

The list of the dead is still not complete...

The news of the massacre in Sarajevo came to President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegović in Mostar, on his way to Paris.

Izetbegović: The news that the chetniks have committed yet another atrocity reached me on my way to France, in fact here in Mostar...

I hesitated for a while whether to continue my journey or not...

We have decided to go to France after all to these /peace/ talks.

We have friends as well as enemies out there in the world. Unfortunately, there are too many people who are indifferent.

In fact, our misfortune arose from the fact that the world was indifferent and that from the very outset the policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina was unprincipled.

This tragedy that has taken place today, these images, the spectacle of mangled human bodies - these are the result of the world's unprincipled policy, that abandoned us to the slaughter while tying our hands behind our backs.

I'm going up there to ask them how long this will last, and how long they wil put up with this violence. To tell them that we shall no longer endure this violence.

We shall use all means to save ourselves from this tragedy.

I want to make that clear: all means!

As for the murderers, today's murderers and criminals, I warn them that we shall retaliate in equal measure, and very soon at that.

The day is not far distant.

Hadžifejzović: I near that NATO does not consider itself bound to react in this situation and that it does not regard the term 'safe area' as implying the protection of civilians.

Haris Silajdžić, Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina: So how can we believe anything any more? What's the point of the peace process if we aren't sure of NATO, the only body capable of enforcing the









DAN "D"

Hadžifejzović: Četnici su danas u Sarajevu počinili još jedan masakr.

Od jedne granate, koju su četnici ispalili na ulaz u Gradsku tržnicu, ubijeno je 35 osoba, teško ranjeno 87 Sarajlija.

Broj poginulih zbog težine rana povrijedenih Sarajlija, nažalost, predviđaju ljekari, nije konačan. Četnici su očigledno imali informaciju iz grada da je gradska pijaca Markale nakon masakra od februara prošle godine zatvorena, da je na njoj odlukom vlasti zabranjena trgovina i da su se prodavači i mušterije preselili u Gradsku tržnicu i nažalost oko nje...

Granatiranje po Sarajevu još traje...

Gledate snimke koje ne smijemo zaboraviti...

Spisak poginulih još nije konačan...

Vijest o masakru u Sarajevu zatekla je predsjednika Predsjedništva Aliju Izetbegovića u Mostaru, na putu za Pariz.

Izetbegović: Vijest o ponovljenom četničkom zločinu zatekla me na putu za Francusku, upravo u Mostaru ovdie...

Na trenutak sam se pokolebao, da li da uopće putujem, da li da nastavim put...

Odlučili smo da ipak idemo u Francusku na ove razgovore /mirovne op.a./

U svijetu imamo pored neprijatelja i prijatelja. Nažalost, ima najviše ravnodušnih. Ustvan, naša nesreća počinje od te činjenice da je svijet ravnodušan i da vodi jednu neprincipijelnu politiku prema Bosni i Hercegovini od samog početka.

Ova današnja nesreća, ove slike, prizori unakaženih ljudi - to je rezultat ove neprincipijelne politike svijeta koji nas je prepustio da nas ubijaju i koji nam je vezao ruke.

Ja idem gore da ih upitam: "Dokle će ta situacija trajati i dokle će se ovo nasilje trpiti."

Da im kažem da mi više nećemo trpiti to nasilje.

Upotrijebićemo sva sredstva da se iz ove nevolje izbavimo.

Hoću da naglasim, sva sredstva!

Što se tiče ubica, današnjih ubica, zločinaca, njima poručujem da ćemo im vratiti ravnom mjerom i to vrlo skoro!

Taj dan nije daleko.

Hadžifejzović: Imamo informaciju da se NATO ne osjeća obaveznim da u ovoj situaciji reaguje i smatra da termin "zaštićene zone" ne podrazumijeva i zaštitu civila.

Haris Silajdžić, bh premijer: Pa, kako onda možemo vjerovati bilo čemu?! Čemu onda uopšte mirovni proces ako nismo sigurni da će NATO, koji jedini može provesti za-









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NEWS TV BIH

decisions of any peace accord, that the Serb terrorists should withdraw from certain territory, for example? Who will compel them if not NATO, since they won't give us arms, as you know!

The Government has decided to propose to the Parliament and the Presidency, following today's Paris meeting, to suspend the peace process until we see what part the international community will play in the protection of the 'safe areas'.

It is clear that we are in these talks with the enemy guns trained on us, that we are being blackmailed. The message of all this is: you /the Bosnians/ have to make further concessions, nothing will come of the negotiations until you meet our demands!

Hadžifejzović: This is the same old story: a massacre, our reaction, our anger, and the West's inertia. Is there a way for some Bosnian military action to retaliate for this massacre?

Silajdžić: This isn't something we can talk about like this, publicly. . .

Of course we are making preparations for this. But those who are playing the part of patrons or mediators must know that we cannot lose thirty-three people on our streets today and go on with the talks as if nothing had happened.

Why not? Because after this I can't trust anyone anymore.

We could be drawn into agreeing, in those talks, that Bosnia be partitioned.

And that the Serb terrorists need never withdraw.

We could negotiate and talk and end up with a peace plan that would be unjust, with everything happening under the pretext of a peace process.

If we have to die, at least let's not die in a peace process.

We have to tell those who are inviting us to the negotiating table that we shall no longer tolerate this attitude on the part of the international community towards the civilians of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Alexander Ivanko, UNPROFOR spokesman:

It was a 120 mm shell, fired from a southerly direction.

We are currently trying to determine exactly the position from which it was fired.

No decision has yet been made on the UN response to this barbaric act. It depends on General Smith and on consultations with NATO. We need time for this decision, and all the results of our investigation into the attack.

Hadžifejzović: Here on the News is Minister Hasan Muratović.

A little before 7 p.m. you spoke with General Smith.

We are professionals, and we have broadcast the /mumbo-jumbo/ 'views' of UNPROFOR.

Please tell our viewers honestly, without mincing your words, what this is about.









ključke nekog mirovnog dogovora, da će se recimo, srpski teroristi povući sa određenih teritorija? Ko će ih prisiliti ako ne NATO, jer nama ne daju oružje, kao što znate!

Zaključak Vlade je da se predloži Skupštini i Predsjedništvu, nakon sastanka u Parizu danas, suspenzija mirovnog procesa dok ne vidimo kakva je uloga Međunarodne zajednice u zaštiti "zaštićenih" zona.

Ocigledno je da mi razgovaramo "pod nišanom" i pod ucjenom.

Poruka /nama/ svega ovoga je: Vi morate dati nove ustupke, nema ništa od pregovora sve dok ne udovoljite našim zahtjevima!

Hadžifejzović: Radi se o "starom filmu": masakr, naše reakcije, naša ogorčenost i inertnost Zapada. Postoji li način jedne bosanske vojne akcije, odnosno odgovora na ovaj masakr?

Silajdžić: O tome ne možemo ovdje razgovarati na ovaj način, javno...

Naravno, da se za to pripremamo. Ali, oni koji igraju ulogu patrona ili medijatora, moraju znati da mi ne možemo izgubiti 33 čovjeka danas na ulicama i nastaviti razgovore kao da ništa nije bilo. Zbog čega? Zato što ja poslije toga ne vjerujem ničemu!

Mi možemo biti uvučeni u te pregovore da bi se Bosna podijelila!

l da se srpski teroristi nikada ne povuku!

Mi možemo pregovarati, razgovarati i doći do nekog mirovnog plana koji neće biti pravedan a sve će se dešavati pod nekakvom krinkom mirovnog procesa.

Ako moramo umirati, barem da ne umiremo u mirovnom procesu.

Moramo reći onima koji nas zovu na pregovore da nećemo dalje tolerisati ovakav odnos međunarodne zajednice prema civilima u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Aleksandar Ivanko, portparol UNPROFOR-a:

To je granata od 120 milimetara i došla je iz pravca juga.

Trenutno pokušavamo precizno utvrditi poziciju sa koje je ispaljena.

Još uvijek nije donesena odluka o tome kakav će biti odgovor UN-a na ovaj barbarski čin. To zavisi od generala Smita i konsultacija sa NATO om.

Za odluku nam treba vrijeme i svi rezultati istrage o ovom napadu.

Hadžifejzović: U Dnevniku je ministar Hasan Muratović.

Vi ste nešto prije 19 sati razgovarali sa generalom Smitom.

Mi smo profesionalci, emitirali smo /nemušte/ "stavove" UNPROFOR-a.

Molim vas da iskreno našim gledaocima kažete o čemu se radi. I bez uvijanja.









28 August 1995

NEWS TV BIH

Hasan Muratović, Minister of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina for relations with the UN:

First, I made contact with General Smitn at 6.30 p.m.

I have reliable information that they spoke with General Mladić during the day.

I also know what his response was.

We expected at least a statement of sympathy and condolences, or that they would show some kind of understanding for the tragedy we have experienced.

I can say that all these statements made by all these UN officials are immoral! They are all untrue.

I began my conversation with General Smith 'so everyone in the world would know that the moment the shell was fired on Sarajevo UNPROFOR knew exactly where it was coming from'.

All this about 'the shell coming from a southerly direction', that 'these are still preliminary investigations', that 'a statement will be issued later', I told General Smith personally that this is immoral, and that he must weigh up the situation, see why there has still been no statement on something that must be announced, with the consequences that this could have because they refuse to tell the truth, and this means that they are deceiving the entire world.

What is this really about?

I have to say that the 'scenario' of every major massacre, of each of our tragedies is the same: UNPRO-FOR is in 'Serb hands' at the time these tragic actions are carried out, when the attacks on civilians are at their height.

Hadžifejzović: This means that the Serbs are holding them hostage, as it were?

Muratović: At this very moment the Serbs are holding the last convoy of British troops to leave Goražde. Five days ago I warned General Smith that his last convoy would be halted by the Serbs!

I warned him in Srebrenica, too, that with the exception of the first convoy, people /civilians/ would be taken from all the convoys and killed.

I warned him that people would be taken from the last convoy in Žepa.

I asked him very openly tonight: 'See how many times I've been right. Am I not always right?' He said: 'Not absolutely always, but in many cases, yes, you are.'

As for what someone said about NATO considering strikes, that's absolutely untrue, no kind of attacks are being considered because of what I said.

Hadžifejzović: Which means then that the information is being put about by, say, AFP or some other agency?

Muratović: At the very least, we must now tell some of these world politicians, face to face, that we can no longer hold talks with them.

Everyone knows that NATO Secretary-General Wörner protected Sarajevo. As soon as he was gone, Sarajevo was without protection.









Hasan Muratović, ministar Vlade BiH za odnose sa UN-om:

Prvo, ja sam došao u kontakt sa generalom Smitom u 18 sati i 30 minuta.

Oni su tokom dana razgovarali sa generałom Mladićem, ja to pouzdano znam.

Znam i kakav je njegov odgovor.

Mi smo očekivali da bar dođu i izjave nam saučešće ili da pokažu neko razumijevanje za tragediju koju smo mi doživjeli.

Ja mogu da kažem da sve ove izjave svih ovih dužnosnika UN-a su nemoralne! Sve su one neistinite. Ja sam počeo razgovor sa generalom Smitom "da svako u svijetu zna da onog časa kad je ispaljena granata na Sarajevo da UNPROFOR zna tačno odakle je došla"!

To da je "došla granata sa juga", "da je još preliminarna istraga", "da će se javiti kasnije", - ja sam lično rekao generalu Smitu da je to nemoralno i da on mora da izvaga situaciju zbog koje on još ne saopćava ono što bi morao da saopći, sa posljedicama koje može imati zbog toga što neće da bude iskren, što dovodi cijeli svijet u zabludu.

O čemu se zapravo radi?

Ja moram reći da je "scenario" svakog velikog masakra, svake naše nevolje isti: da se snage UNPRO-FOR-a nađu u "srpskim rukama" u trenutku kada se izvode te tragične akcije, kada se na civile izvode najveći napadi

Hadžifejzović: To znači da ih Srbi drže, da li kao taoce?...

Muratović: U ovom momentu Srbi drže posljednju kolonu britanskih vojnika koja napušta Goražde! Ja sam prije pet dana generala Smita upozorio da će njegova posljednja kolona biti zaustavljena od Srba!

Upozorio sam ga i u Srebrenici da osim prvog konvoja sa svih konvoja će biti uzeti ljudi /civili/ i poubijani.

Upozorio sam ga da će sa posljednjeg konvoja u Žepi biti uzeti ljudi!

Ja sam ga vrlo iskreno upitao večeras: "Vidite li koliko sam puta do sada bio u pravu? Da li sam ja uvijek u pravu?"

On je rekao: "Niste baš uvijek, ali jeste u mnogo slučajeva."

To što je neko rekao da se razmatraju NATO-napadi, to je apsolutno netačno, uopće se nikakvi napadi, zbog ovoga što sam rekao, ne razmatraju.

Hadžifejzović: Šta znači, onda, plasiranje takvih informacija, recimo, od AFP-a i drugih agencija?

Muratović: Najmanje što u ovom času nekim svjetskim političarima moramo da kažemo u lice, da ne možemo više s njima razgovarati.

Svako zna da je sekretar NATO-a Werner štitio Sarajevo. Čim je on otišao Sarajevo je ostalo nezaštićeno.

Dakle, postoje ljudi koji su uzrok. Naravno, najveći uzrok su četnici, ali postoje političari koji godi-









28 August 1995 NEWS TV BIH

So there are people who are the cause of this. Of course, the main cause is the chetniks, but there are politicians who have been openly supporting the Serbs for years. There are UN officials who openly support the Serbs. I must use some undiplomatic language on this occasion: We must spit in the faces of such people!

Hadžifejzović: To spell it out again clearly: right now, the Serbs are nolding an UNPROFOR convoy that was leaving Goražde, and that's the reason General Smith doesn't want to call on NATO and doesn't want to give us the accurate and full information that he undoubtedly has available?

Muratović: I can understand him not wanting to call on the NATO alliance, but I cannot and will not accept the immorality of keeping the world in the dark about how today's tragedy occurred! I cannot forgive them for not saying that the Serbs fired shells from this and this position today! As if all this tragedy weren't enough, they won't even say how it came about! Hadžifejzović: There are a lot of things that we must finally take into our own hands?

Muratović: In my view there should be one of the generals of our Army on the News tonight, we have plenty of them, thanks be to God.

This is not the kind of thing the Army should keep quiet about.

Hadžifejzović: The massacres in Vase Miskina street, in Dobrinja, on Tito street, in the Markale marketplace, in Tuzla, have together taken almost a thousand lives.

Between these major atrocities there are also what the world describes as 'minor' ones, and the final tally of these atrocities is 10,600 Sarajevans dead, more than 15,000 Bosnians massacred. They are all 'statistical data'.

Nijaz Duraković, SDP, member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

I see this as the last opportunity to raise the alarm among all the democratic elements of the world, all that is civilized in the world.

This is in fact a cry for help that will probably meet with no response.

This is the collapse, the twilight of world civilization. . .

... Hadžifejzović, two hours later, at 10.30 p.m.:

Global press agencies are releasing the following information, which we have taken from the French RFI: just after 8 p.m. the press representative of the US State Department /Nicholas Barnes/ said officially in Washington that the Serbs were responsible for this atrocity, referring to information received from the US embassy in Sarajevo, UN information and other sources...

Note: Allied strikes really did begin a few hours after this News broadcast, both from the air and from the ground, on Serb positions around Sarajevo. Serb targets in much of Bosnia and Herzegovina were bombed. It happened...









nama otvoreno podržavaju Srbe. Postoje dužnosnici UN-a koji otvoreno podržavaju Srbe. Ja moram ovaj put upotrijebiti nediplomatski jezik: Mi tim ljudima moramo pljunuti u lice!

Hadžifejzović: Da ponovimo decidno: u ovom momentu Srbi drže konvoj UNPROFOR-a koji napušta Goražde i to je razlog zbog kojeg general Rupert Smit ne želi da pozove NATO i ne želi da pruži pravu i potpunu informaciju koju sasvim sigurno zna?

Muratović: Ja njega mogu da razumijem da ne pozove NATO pakt ali ne mogu i neću da prihvatim taj nemoral da se svijet drži u neizvjesnosti kako je došlo do današnje tragedije!

Ne mogu da oprostim to da se ne kaže da su Srbi sa te i te pozicije ispalili danas granate!

Pored ove cijele tragedije on još neće da kaže kako je do ove tragedije došlo!

Hadžifejzović: Mnoge stvari definitivno moraju biti u našim rukama?

Muratović: Ja mislim da u večerašnjem Dnevniku nedostaje jedan general naše Armije, mi imamo, fala Boqu, dosta generala.

Na ovakve stvari Armija ne smije da ostane nijema.

Hadžifejzović: Masakri u Ulici Vase Miskina, na Dobrinji, u Titovoj, na Markalama, u Tuzli, odnijeli su gotovo hiljadu života.

Između velikih zločina dešavaju se, kako ih svijet tumači, "mali", a konačni zbir tih zločina je 10.600 ubijenih Sarajlija i preko 150.000 masakriranih Bosanaca. Oni su svi "statistički podaci"...

Nijaz Duraković, SDP, član Predsjedništva BiH:

Ja mislim da je ovo zadnja prilika da se alarmira sve ono što jeste u svijetu demokratsko, sve ono što u svijetu jeste civilizacijsko.

To je zapravo jedan vapaj koji vjerovatno neće naići na odziv.

Ovdje je slom, sumrak svjetske civilizacije....

...Hadžifejzović, dva sata kasnije 22. 30:

Svjetske agencije prenose sljedeću informaciju, koju smo preuzeli od francuskog radija RFI: "Tek poslije 20 sati predstavnik za štampu američkog State Dipartmenta /Nikolas Barns/ je u Washingtonu objavio, zvanično, da su Srbi odgovorni za ovaj zločin, pozivajući se na informacije američke ambasade u Sarajevu, pozivajući se na informacije UN-a i drugih raznih kontakata...

Napomena: Zaista, samo nekoliko sati nakon ovog Dnevnika počelo je savezničko bombardovanje iz zraka i sa zemlje srpskih položaja u okolini Sarajeva. Bombardovani su srpski ciljevi na velikom teritoriju Bosne i Hercegovine. Desilo se...









NEWS TVBIH

President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović has sent a letter to France's President Chirac, certainly the man who can claim the greatest credit for this turn-around in Bosnia. In the letter he writes:

'There are visible changes in Sarajevo.

The response of the international community to the Serb atrocity has restored people's faith in justice and given them hope that there will soon be peace.

Mr President, you would be a welcome guest in Sarajevo, for your great contribution to this change for the better.'

Bill Clinton, US President:

'The action will show the Bosnian Serbs that they have nothing to gain and everything to lose if they continue to attack Sarajevo and other safe areas and to kill innocent civilians.

I call for an end to the war through peace negotiations.'

You have seen on the TV Bosnia and Herzegovina News where we have principally talked about how the Serbs 'are firing on themselves' and the Serbs are 'bombing themselves' from the air. . .

9 September 1995

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE in the studio, Pres dent of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović

Hadžifejzović: The leading topic today is yesterday's meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and Yugoslavia, at which initial agreement was reached on the future structure of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

To talk about this, we have with us in the studio the President of the Presidency, Alija Izetbegović.

Critics say that this is the partition of Bosnia!

Izetbegović: This is not the partition of Bosnia, this is a re-drawing of the borders within Bosnia. It was agreed a year ago. It's in fact the re-drawing of borders that we agreed to a year ago when we accepted the Contact Group's plan for a 51:49 ratio. It's an internal re-drawing of borders. Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a state.

The so-called Republika Srpska remains within Bosnia and Herzegovina.









01. septembar 1995.

DNEVNIK TVBiH,

Predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH Alija Izetbegović uputio je pismo francuskom predsjedniku Širaku, svakako najzaslužnijem čovjeku za ovakav preokret u Bosni. U pismu se kaže: "Promjena u Sarajevu je očigledna.

Odgovor međunarodne zajednice na srpske zločine vratio je ljudima vjeru u pravdu i probudio nadu u skori mir.

Bili biste, gospodine Predsjedniče, rado viden gost u Sarajevu jer ste mnogo doprinijeli ovom pozitivnom preokretu."

Bill Clinton, predsjednik SAD:

"Akcija će pokazati bosanskim Srbima da nemaju šta dobiti a mogu sve izgubiti ako nastave napadati Sarajevo i druge sigurnosne zone i ubijati nedužne civile. Pozivam na okončanje rata putem mirovnih pregovora".

Vidjeli ste u Dnevniku Televizije BiH u kojem smo uglavnom govorili o tome kako Srbi "sami sebe gađaju" i kako Srbi" sami sebe bombarduju" iz aviona...

01. septembar 1995.

(UŽIVO) U studiju predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH Alija Izetbegović

Hadžifejzović: Danas je glavna tema jučerašnji sastanak ministara vanjskih poslova Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, Republike Hrvatske i Jugoslavije na kojem je postignut preliminarni dogovor o budućem državnom uređenju Bosne i Hercegovine.

Tim povodom u studiju je predsjednik Predsjedništva Alija Izetbegović.

Kritičari kažu da je ovo podjela Bosne!

lzetbegović: Ovo nije podjela Bosne, ovo je razgraničenje u Bosni!

Dogovoreno je to još prije godinu dana. Zapravo, razgraničenje na koje smo mi pristali prije godinu dana, kada smo prihvatili plan Kontakt grupe u omjeru 51:49

To je unutrašnje razgraničenje.

Bosna i Hercegovina ostaje kao država.

Takozvana Republika Srpska ostala je u Bosni i Hercegovini.









NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: There is no reference to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in this document, although there is reference to Republika Srpska. It's this tnat is leading to 'confusion', of which the result is to interpret this as a more or less definitive partition.

Izetbegović: Canada isn't cal ed a Republic either, but that doesn't make it any the less a state! Bosnia and Herzegovina is defined as a state.

As for Republika Srpska... of course, that was a bitter pill for us to swallow. To tell you the truth, I didn't want to quarrel with the Americans because of the name and thereby run the risk of a halt to the NATO action.

At this point in time I think there was no need for me to get into an argument over this and to put some very important issues at risk.

It is a bitter pill.

It is bitter, but it isn't a poison pill.

It's not a poison pill because this isn't an independent Republika Srpska that will be able to 'take away' forty-nine percent of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The citizens of that entity will have to have the words 'Bosnia and Herzegovina' on their passports, they'll have to have the country's emblem on their motor cars. . .

Hadžifejzović: We made concessions in Geneva yesterday. Why?

Izetbegović: A single question, a single word: Peace.

We must have peace.

We made those concessions for the sake of peace.

In my view, there's been too much dying, too much destruction, too many people driven from their nomes, too many people maimed. . .

All this might be in vain, we might once again have to go to war, but we must be sure that there was no other option. .

Hadžifejzović: In effect, the American plan doesn't have any maps, is that right?

Izetbegović: In fact, it has. There is the Contact Group map. Unless we agree otherwise, the Contact Group plan continues to hold good.

That map provides for us to receive fifteen percent of the territory without further fighting, without loss of life, without a single bullet being fired, by agreement!

Karadžić's Serbs would have to withdraw from fifteen percent of the territory they now hold. This f'f-teen percent includes a large number of very important towns: Sanski Most, Bosanska Krupa, Trnovo, the Goražde corridor, Brčko, Derventa, Bosanski Brod, Odžak, Doboi.

We'd get all this on the basis of that agreement.

Hadžifejzović: The question is now, how will you get it?









DNEVNIK TVBIH,

Hadžifejzović: U ovom dokumentu se ne pominje Republika Bosna i Hercegovina ali se zato pominje Republika Srpska.

Upravo zbog toga dolazi do "zabune" čiji je rezultat tumačenje da je ovo prilično definitivna podjela.

tzetbegović: Ni Kanada se ne zove Republika pa nije manje država!

Bosna i Hercegovina se definira kao država.

Kada je riječ o Republici Srpskoj... Naravno to je bila jedna gorka pilula za nas.

Ja, pravo da vam kažem, nisam htio da se svađam sa Amerikancima zbog tog naziva i da rizikujem obustavu akcije NATO-a.

U ovom momentu mislim da nije trebalo da se oko toga prepirem i da rizikujem neke vrlo važne stvari.

To je gorka pilula.

Ona jeste gorka, ali nije otrovna pilula.

Nije otrovna zato što to nije neovisna Republika Srpska koja može da "iznese" 49 posto teritorije Bosne i Hercegovine.

Gradani tog entiteta moraće na svojim pasošima imati napisano "Bosna i Hercegovina", moraće na kolima da nose te oznake...

Hadžifejzović: Mi smo juče u Ženevi napravili koncesiju! Zašto?

Izetbegović: Jedno pitanje, jedna riječ: Mir!

Treba nam mir!

Zbog mira smo učinili tu koncesiju.

Mislim da je umiranja, rušenja, istjerivanja iz domova, sakaćenja, bilo previše...

Sve ovo može da padne u vodu i da moramo da ratujemo ponovo, ali moramo biti sigurni da drugog izbora nije bilo...

Hadžifejzović: ... U suštini, američki plan nema nikakve mape, je li tako?

Izetbegović: Zapravo ima! Postoji mapa Kontakt grupe. Ako se mi ne dogovorimo o nečemu drugom onda ostaje plan Kontakt grupe.

Po toj mapi, mi bismo dobili petnaest posto teritorija bez daljih borbi, bez gubitaka života, bez ispaljenog metka, dogovorom!

Karadžićevi Srbi bi se morali povući sa petnaest posto teritorije koju sada drže.

U tih petnaest posto ima jedan veliki broj gradova, vrlo važnih: Sanski Most, Bosanska Krupa, Trnovo, koridor za Goražde, Brčko, Derventa, Bosanski Brod, Odžak, Doboj.

Mi bismo to trebali dobiti na osnovu ovog dogovora.

Hadžifejzović: Sada je pitanje, kako ćete to dobiti?









NEWS TVBIH

The question is whether this territory can be regained without the use of force by the international community.

And the issue of Sarajevo belongs here too.

We have US support, we have the support of Mr Holbrooke.

Izetbegović: We have a very clear statement that th's must be a unified city under the lega government authorities.

This is the future, common Sarajevo.

In the civil sense of the word, common.

Hadžifejzović: Let's hear what the people of Sarajevo have to say about this agreement.

Public opinion poll in Sarajevo

Man 1: I'm afraid it'll be a ong time before it takes shape. We are the generation that will be deprived of that, for sure,

Woman 2: That entity's called the Serb republic, which I didn't expect. That part of the Serb people has somehow got itself a state, broken away and got what it wanted, nat'onally speaking.

Man 3: I swore the oath of loyalty to this state. I'll go on fighting for it.

Man 4: This is the framework of a kind of partition, after all.

Man 5: You can't even detach yourself from your wife if you get divorced. Because of the kids. We'll have to make contact of some kind one day.

Man 6: I think that our /politicians/ are smart and won't give way and do something stupid.

Man 7: Perhaps it'll come to a real agreement.

Man 8: One could assume it'll be like this

Woman 9: I'm not for it, I wouldn't live with them!

Woman 10: How could we live with them? They slaughtered us, my husband was killed...

Man 11: Partition? Perhaps at first, and later it'll be OK.

Man 12: Water and trade always find a way, and this will too.









p_{itanje} je da li se bez upotrebe sile međunarodne zajednice može ta teritorija vratiti. U tom kontekstu je i pitanje Sarajeva.

lmamo američku podršku, podršku gospodina Holbruka...

Izetbegović: Imamo vrlo jasnu izjavu da to mora biti jedinstven grad pod legalnim organima vlasti. To je buduće, zajedničko Sarajevo.

U građanskom smislu riječi zajedničko.

Hadžifejzović: Da čujemo šta kažu građani Sarajeva o ovom dogovoru.

Anketa među građanima Sarajeva

Građanin 1: Bojim se da će dosta vremena proći da to dobije jednu formu. Mi smo generacija koja će biti uskraćena /za to/ sigurno.

Građanka 2: Taj entitet je nazvan srpskom republikom što ja nisam očekivala. Taj dio srpskog naroda na neki način je zaokružio državu, odvojio se i doživio svoju nacionalnu satisfakciju.

Građanin 3: Dao sam zakletvu za ovu državu! Ja ću se boriti dalje!

Građanin 4: Ovo je ipak okvir za nekakvu podjelu.

Građanin 5: Ne možeš se odvojiti ni od žene ako se razvedeš. Radi djeteta. Moraćemo jedan dan neku komunikaciju uspostaviti.

Građanin 6: Mislim da su naši /političari/ pametni i da neće popustiti i napraviti neku glupost.

Građanin 7: Možda dođe do pravog dogovora.

Građanin 8: Moglo se pretpostaviti da će ovako biti.

Građanka 9: Ja nisam za to, ja ne bih da živim s njima!

Građanka 10: Kako da živimo s njima? Klali nas, muž mi nastradao...

Građanin11: Podjela? Možda za prvo vrijeme a poslije će biti uredu.

Građanin 12: Voda i trgovina nađu sebi put pa će naći i ovo.









NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: In this poll the people of Sarajevo are putting their questions to the President of the Presidency.

Izetbegović: People are taking a pretty realistic approach.

These papers /the peace agreements/ aren't what's broken up Bosnia.

Bosnia was broken apart by the horrendous coup by the Yugoslav Federal Army in 1992. What we are trying to do is to reassemb e the pieces, to put together a state if we can. . .

The feeling people have that we shouldn't have tried to preserve the Serb entity ... maybe we shouldn't, but we reckoned that it's the chetniks that will live there but there'll be a sobering up; the time of intoxication, and of the hangover that follows it, will pass, there'll be a new generation. . .

Bosnia cannot be whole without the Serbs, that's clear.

We shall try to prevent the cnetnik element from becoming part of the joint institutions and blocking them, from putting a brake on the process so that they'll be able to say, a few years later, 'you see, it can't work', and our having the same circus as in 1991.

Hadžifejzović: Karadžić said last night that right now, with this plan, he feels 'more independent' under the auspices of Bosnia and Herzegovina than under the Yugoslav banner, under the patronage of Yugoslavia.

So this 'back yard' of half of Bosnia su'ts him.

A pretty b'q back yard.

Izetbegović: He's kept quiet about the fact that he's now dependent on Bosnia and Herzegovina. On Sarajevo.

He cannot be independent.

He's saying nothing about the fact that this 's not an independent Republika Srpska.

He should be te ling his people this.

But here we are, we're telling them!

Hadžifejzović: We saw some soldiers in the poll we just watched.

Peace and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

What will become of the Army?

Izetbegović: We have about two hundred thousand men now.

We're not giving up the Army, naturally.

We'll reorganize the Army, we'll return the greater part of those people to the economy, where they're needed, and retain about fifty thousand people to form a small, well-equipped, highly motivated Army.

If you were to ask me, the Army should be composed of the sons of the territories currently under occupation.









DNEVNIK TVBIH/

Hadžifejzović: Građani Sarajeva su ovom anketom postavili pitanje predsjedniku Predsjedništva.

Izetbegović: Ovo je dosta realan pristup ljudi.

Bosnu nisu razbili ovi papiri /mirovni dokumenti, op. a./.

Bosna je razbijena stravičnim udarom Jugoslovenske armije 1992. godine.

Ono što mi pokušavamo jeste da te parčiće skupimo, da sastavimo državu ako možemo...

To osjećanje ljudi da možda ne bi trebalo da se trudimo da sačuvamo taj entitet srpski...možda ne bi ni trebali da to radimo ako računamo da će tu živjeti četnici ali doći će do otrežnjenja, proći će doba pijanstva, mahmurluka, doći će nove generacije... Bez Srba nema cijele Bosne, to je jasno. Mi ćemo pokušati da onemogućimo da četnički elementi uđu u vidu nekih zajedničkih institucija i da ih blokiraju, da ukoče svaki proces da bi nakon par godina rekli: "Vidite to ne može da funkcioniše", i da bi imali onaj cirkus koji smo imali 1991. godine.

Hadžifejzović: Karadžić je sinoć kazao da se u ovom momentu, u ovom planu osjeća "nezavisnije" u okviru Bosne i Hercegovina nego da je "pod kapom", pod patronatom Jugoslavije. Njemu, dakle, odgovara ta njegova "avlija" od polovine Bosne. Poveća avlija...

Izetbegović: On je prešutio da je on sada zavisan od Bosne i Hercegovina!

Od Sarajeva!

On ne może biti nezavisan!

...On prešućuje okolnost da to nije nezavisna Republika Srpska.

On to treba da kaže svom narodu.

Evo, mi to kažemo!

Hadžifejzović: Vidjeli smo maloprije u anketi i nekoliko vojnika.

Mir i Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine?

Šta će biti sa Armijom?

Izetbegović: Sada imamo, otprilike, dvjesta hiljada ljudi.

Mi se Armije ne odričemo, naravno.

Mi ćemo Armiju reorganizovati, veliki dio tih ljudi poslati u privredu koja će ih trebati, a od pedeset hiljada ljudi treba da stvorimo malu, dobro opremljenu i motiviranu Armiju.

Ako se mene bude pitalo, sastaviti Armiju od sinova sa sada okupiranih teritorija.









NEWS TVBIH

It seems that we aren't yet fully aware of the huge victory achieved by the Army in liberating Vozuća.

Vozuca isn't just a short cut from Tuzla to Zenica.

It's one of the aggressor's major strongholds, and its liberation can be compared, in the strategic sense. with the liftg of the siege of Sarajevo or the cutting of the corridors.

'If Vozuća falls, Moscow will fall too', Karadž ć repeated a dozen times.

We have no news of what's happened to Moscow.

13 September 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The liberation campaign of the Army and the HVO continues.

NATO strikes on Serb positions continue

Partial peace talks continue

A rocket attack on the JS empassy in Moscow

Air strikes on Russia's all'es in Bosnia

Widespread confusion has arisen in UNPROFOR and UN circles, which have a 'surplus of information' about the liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

UNPROFOR has announced that the Army's liberation action in the Jajce area could result in the recapture of Jajce but that it is 'very possible' that the Army has recaptured Donji Vakuf.

Yasushi Akashi is of the same view, always supposing he knows where Donji Vakuf is.





13. septembar 1995.

DNEVNIK TVBIH)

Izgleda da svi mi još nismo potpuno svjesni ogromnog uspjeha koji je Armija postigla oslo bađanjem Vozuće.

Vozuca nije samo skraćivanje puta od Tuzle do Zenice.

To je jedna od najvećih agresorskih utvrda čije oslobađanje u strateškom smislu se može porediti sa deblokadom Sarajeva ili presijecanjem posavskog koridora.

"Ako padne Vozuća - past će i Moskva!" - deset puta je ponovio Karadžić.

Nemamo vijesti šta se desilo sa Moskvom.

13. septembar 1995.

Nastavljeni oslobodilački pohodi Armije i HVO-a. Nastavljeni napadi NATO-a po srpskim položajima. Nastavljeni parcijalni mirovni pregovori. Raketni napad na američku ambasadu u Moskvi. Avionski napad na ruske saveznike u Bosni.

Opšta konfuzija nastala je u krugovima UNPROFOR-a i UN-a koji imaju "višak informacija" o oslobađanju Bosne i Hercegovine.

UNPROFOR saopćava da bi oslobodilačka akcija Armije u okolini Jajca, mogla rezultirati osvajanjem Jajca, ali da je "vrlo moguće" da je Armija osvojila Donji Vakuf.

lsto misli i Jasuši Akaši, ako on uopće zna gdje je Donji Vakuf.





NEWS TVBIH

LIVE General Mehmed Alagić speaks from Donji Vakuf on the News

Hadžfejzović

This is the News we've been dreaming of for three and a half years.

Here's the latest news: the Fifth Corps is on the outskirts of Bosanski Petrovac!

In fact, we never even dreamed of such a News programme.

This is really heart-stopping news.

I think we've now managed to make contact ... probably with Donji Vakuf... they're telling me from the control room ... who ... General Mehmed Alagić. Good evening, General!

Alagić: Good evening and as salaamu 'aleikum.

Hadžifejzović: What's the latest news you have for us?

Alagić: I can tell all your viewers that troops of the Seventh Corps have entered Donji Vakuf. I have this message for the people of Donji Vakuf and for the troops of the Serb Army.

Donji Vakuf is ours!

The majority of their troops have laid down their arms.

They are surrendering to the troops of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

So I appeal to them to save lives, to surrender in the proper military fashion, because they wil be treated absolutely properly and humanely.

It's my duty and obligat'on to appeal to them, and to uphold the Geneva Conventions and the principles of international law.

I appeal to them to surrender honourab y.

Show the white flag,

Come out from cover, leave your trenches, your apartments!

Feel free to come out into open spaces where you can be seen, into the streets and squares.

Let invalids and the sick stay in their beds, where they will receive care.

Children, women and the elderly, as well as members of the Serb Army, may carry their ID and essential personal items, because they will soon be returned to their homes.

I want to make it quite clear that you will not be shot at, I guarantee this with my word and my honour as commanding officer!

Hadžifejzović: General, you too are probably aware that this is a historic moment, which is being seen live on TV Bosnia and Herzegovina.









(UŽIVO) javljanje generala Mehmeda Alagića u Dnevnik iz Donjeg Vakufa

Hadžifejzović:

Ovakav Dnevnik smo sanjali tri i po godine!

Evo najnovije informacije: Peti korpus je na ulazu u Bosanski Petrovac!

Ustvari, ovakav Dnevnik nismo ni sanjali.

Mene će zaista "strefiti" srce od ovih informacija.

Mislim da smo sada uspostavili komunikaciju... vjerovatno sa Donjim Vakufom...tamo je, kažu mi iz režije, ...ko?... general Mehmed Alagić. Dobro veče, generale!

Alagić: Dobro veče i es-selamu alejkum!

Hadžifejzović: Kakve nam nove informacije imate saopštiti?

Alagić: Da obavijestim sve gledaoce da jedinice VII korpusa ulaze u Donji Vakuf. Želim da se obratim stanovnicima Donjeg Vakufa i pripadnicima srpske vojske.

Donji Vakuf je naš !!!

Najveći broj njihovih vojnika je odložio oružje!

l predao se borcima Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine!

Dakle, pozivam ih da sačuvaju živote, da se vojnički korektno predaju jer će se s njima krajnje korektno i ljudski postupati.

Moja je dužnost i obaveza da ih pozovem i da ću se pridržavati Ženevske konvencije i odredaba Međunarodnog prava.

Pozivam ih na časnu predaju!

Vidno istaknite bijelu zastavu!

Napustite zaklone, rovove i stanove!

Slobodno izadite na čista, vidna mjesta, ulice i trgove!

Nepokretni i bolesni neka ostanu u svojim krevetima, tamo će im biti pružena pomoć.

Djeca, žene i starije osobe kao i pripadnici srpske vojske mogu sa sobom ponijeti dokumenta i najnužnije lične stvari jer će uskoro biti vraćeni kućama.

Posebno naglašavam da na vas neće i ne smije biti pucano, što vam garantujem svojom riječju i čašću kao komandant!!!

Hadžifejzović: Generale, vjerovatno ste i vi svjesni ovog historijskog momenta koji opet "ide" uživo preko Televizije Bosne i Hercegovine.









NEWS TVBIH

I should now like to ask you to tell us exactly what the situation is on the Donji Vakuf-Jajce-Šipovo route. We have news that the Croatian Army has entered Šipovo. What about Jajce? I suppose this action is being conducted in coordination with the Croatian Army?

Alagić: It's true that Croatian troops have entered Šipovo, and true that they are on the very outskirts of Jajce.

Hadžifejzović: I suppose these liberation actions won't stop. What are the goals of the Seventh Corps?

Alagić: TO HOLD A REVIEW OF THE CORPS IN BANJA LUKA!

Hadžifejzović: In Banja Luka! Oh! At once or right now?

Alagic: It has to be time for that. Go on.

Hadžifejzović: There's euphoria in the studio! But the News is a serious programme. . .

What about the coordination with Croatian forces in that region?

Alagić: It's fine for the present. They're moving ahead faster but I hope we'll soon catch up.

Hadžifejzović: This is the first time I've no more question...

Alagić: We're on the offensive. Let's keep going.

25 Septembe 1995

NEWS TVBIH

LIVE Mirza Sadiković, TV Bosnia and Herzegovina war correspondent from Bihać, first footage

Hadžifejzović: On the News today is a journalist who does radio and television and writes for Oslobođenje, a journalist who writes fine features on Bosnia. From Bihać.

You are the only person to have been reparting from the heroic town of Bihać for the past three and a half years.

Mirza Sadiković, journalist: I am asked by my fellow citizens to send greetings to everyone in Sarajevo, and to convey our admiration and respect.

It's been exceptionally tough in Bihać and the Krajina, but we are proud to be adding a small stone to the mosaic of the liberation of our country.









Ja Vas sada molim da nam objasnite tačnu situaciju na tom potezu Donji Vakuf -Jajce-Šipovo. Imamo informaciju da je Hrvatska vojska ušla u Šipovo. Šta je sa Jajcem? Ove akcije se vjerovatno izvode u koordinaciji sa Hrvatskom vojskom?

Alagić: Tačno je da su hrvatske postrojbe ušle u Šipovo, tačno je i to da su na ulazu u Jajce.

Hadžifejzović: Vjerovatno u nastavku oslobodilačkih akcija se neće stati.

Kakvi su ciljevi Sedmog korpusa?

Alagić: DA IZVRŠIM SMOTRU KORPUSA U BANJOJ LUCI !!!

Hadžifejzović: U Banjoj Luci!!!... Uh... Odmah ili sad?!

Alagić: Mora biti vremena za to. Da nastaviš dalje...

Hadžifejzović: Euforija je u studiju!... ali... Dnevnik je jedna seriozna emisija ... Šta je sa koordinacijom sa hrvatskim snagama na tom području?

Alagić: Za sada je dobra. Oni su ostvarili veći tempo, ali nadam se da ćemo se brzo "izravnati".

Hadžifejzović: Ovo je prvi puta da nemam više pitanja...

Alagić: Mi napadamo. Idemo dalje.

25. septembar 1995. DNEVNIK TVBIH

(UŽIVO) Mirza Sadiković, ratni dopisnik TVBiH iz Bihaća, prvi snimci

Hadžifejzović: U Dnevniku je novinar radija i televizije i "Oslobođenja", novinar svega što publikuje lijepe riječi o Bosni.

lz Bihaća.

Ti si jedini čovjek koji je tri i po godine izvještavao iz herojskog grada Bihaća.

Mirza Sadiković, novinar: Zamoljen sam od mojih sugrađana da pozdravim Sarajlije, prenesem izraze našeg divljenja i poštovanja.

Bilo je izuzetno teško u Bihaću i Krajini, ali mi smo ponosni što zidamo kamenčiće u mozaiku slobode naše zemlje.









NEWS TVBIH

On that historic 20 September, when the general all-clear signal was sounded in the streets of Bihać at exactly 5.45 p.m., a new era in the history of Bihać and of Bosnia began.

Hadžifejzović: You have brought us some footage from the vicin ty of Ključ, where a mass grave has been found.

Sadiković: Unfortunately, there w'll be more such footage... especially in the Sanski Most direction.

Hadžifejzović: Prijedor, Kozarac?

Sadiković: The assumption is that there are still bigger graves.

Hadžifejzović: Following the liberation of a good part of the Krajina, long lines of our workers are coming to the Fifth Corps, the people of the Krajina are returning home... This is now the largest migration area in Bosnia, in the positive sense.

Sadiković: Several thousand people have already returned to their homes. A thousand have returned to Ključ, several hundred to Bosanski Petrovac, people are returning to Velika Kladuša, almost two thousand to Cazin...

Hadžifejzović: Thank you, Mirza.

Are our viewers aware that the late Irfan Ljubijankić /who was killed near his native Bihać/, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was a poet and musician...

Colleagues from RTV Bihać are bringing us a feature made during the war in Bihać.

The author of the lyrics and composer of the music was the late Irfan Ljubijankić, who also published it.

'Take care, dear God, of Bosnia, save her from those savages.
I'm dying with Your name on my lips and with the golden lilies in those blue eyes as I whisper Your name.
Take care, dear God, of Bosnia.
Save Bosnia, oh Lord.
Save this little soul for us burn hate away with love I'm dying with Your name.

Let the living Bosnia glorify Your name and pray unto You. . . .









Tog historijskog 20. septembra kada je tačno u 17. 45 sati na bihačkim ulicama sviran znak za prestanak opšte opasnosti, počela je nova historija Bihaća i Bosne.

Hadžifejzović: Donio si nam snimke iz blizine Ključa, gdje je pronadena jedna masovna grobnica...

Sadiković: Nažalost, takvih snimaka će biti još... posebno prema Sanskom Mostu.

Hadžifejzović: Prijedor, Kozarac?

Sadiković: Pretpostavlja se da ima još većih grobnica.

Hadžifejzović: Nakon što je oslobođen dobar dio Krajine, kolone naših radnika dolaze u Peti korpus, Krajišnici se vraćaju u Krajinu... To je sada najveće migraciono područje u Bosni, u pozitivnom smislu.

Sadiković: Već se na svoja ognjišta vratilo nekoliko hiljada ljudi. U Ključ se vratilo hiljadu ljudi, u Bosanski Petrovac nekoliko stotina, ljudi se vraćaju u Veliku Kladušu, u Cazin blizu dvije hiljade...

Hadžifejzović: Mirza, hvala ti.

Da li ste možda i pretpostavili, poštovani gledaoci, da rahmetli Irfan Ljubijankić /ubijen u okolini rodnog grada Bihaća, op.a/ ministar vanjskih poslova Republike Bosne i Hercegovine je bio pjesnik, poeta, muzičar...

Kolege iz RTV Bihać donose spot, nastao u ratu u Bihaću. Autor teksta, muzike, izvođač je rahmetli Irfan Ljubijankić

"Čuvaj mi, dragi Bože, Bosnu od ljudi zvijeri.
Ja, evo, umirem s imenom Tvojim i s ljiljanima zlatnim u plavetnom oku i ime Ti šapćem.
Čuvaj mi, dragi Bože, Bosnu.
Bože, čuvaj Bosnu.
Spasi nam ovo malo duše s ljubavlju mržnju sprži
Ja, evo, umirem s imenom Tvojim.

Nek Bosna koja živi i ime Tvoje slavi molitve Ti moli"...











NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: Today's meeting of Izetbegović, Silajdžić and Muratović with a US delegation led by Roberts Owen is part of the great battle for the state.

What was demanded of the US delegation today, exactly?

Silajdžić:

No partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A single State.

A single Parliament.

A single Constitution.

A single Presidency.

A single Government.

Two elements. That, yes.

But not internationally recognized.

This is a very significant agreement, today.

Hadžifejzović: Who can either confirm or repudiate today's agreement in Sarajevo?

Silajdžić: The Be grade regime can reject it, but that doesn't mean that we lose our statehood.

We're the only ones who can dissolve Bosnia.

It's only our Parliament that can do that.

The question is wnether even Parliament has the right to do so.

Anyone who hopes to be able to break off a piece of Bosnia, bit by bit, in stages, however, and take it away to Greater Serbia, is fooling himself.

There will be no secession of any kind.

None, and that's that.

Hadžifejzović: Will the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by advancing on the front, give logistical support to Bosnia and Herzegovina's diplomacy?

This is obviously a burning issue on the international stage.

Silajdžić: Certainly!

Our Army will remain on active status.

This means that the legal army and the legal government are always on the defence.

This is self-defence against aggression.

As long as we don't have peace - we're at war.

As long as we're at war, the Army has the duty to liberate the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Until then, it's necessary self-defence.









DNEVNIK TVBIH,

Hadžifejzović: Današnji susret Izetbegovića, Silajdžića i Muratovića sa američkom delegacijom koju je predvodio Roberts Oven je dio velike bitke za državu.

Šta je tačno danas zahtijevano od američke delegacije?

Silajdžić:

Nema podjele Bosne i Hercegovine!

Jedna država.

Jedan parlament.

Jedan ustav.

Jedno predsjedništvo.

Jedna vlada.

Dvije komponente. To, da.

Koje nisu međunarodno priznate.

Ovo je vrlo značajan dogovor, danas.

Hadžifejzović: Ko može potvrditi ili opovrgnuti današnji dogovor u Sarajevu?

Silajdžić: Režim u Beogradu ga može odbiti, ali to ne znači da mi gubimo državnost.

Samo mi možemo razvrgnuti Bosnu i Hercegovinu!

Samo naš parlament to može učiniti.

Pitanje je da li i parlament na to ima pravo...

Ko god se nada da može na bilo koji način, postepeno i u fazama, moći otkinuti komad Bosne i odnijeti ga u veliku Srbiju, vara se!

Nikakve secesije nema!

Jednostavno, nema!

Hadžifejzović: Hoće li Armija Bosne i Hercegovine na frontu, napredovanjem dati logističku podršku bosanskohercegovačkoj diplomatiji?

To očigledno "pali" na međunarodnoj sceni.

Silajdžić: Svakako!

Naša vojska će ostati u aktivnom odnosu.

To znači da smo mi, kao legalna vojska i legalna vlast, uvijek u defanzivi.

Da se branimo od agresije.

Sve dotle dok nema mira - ima rata.

Dok ima rata, vojska ima dužnost da oslobađa cjelokupni teritorij BiH.

Dotle - to je nužna samoodbrana.









5 October 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Hadžifejzović: All sides in Bosnia and Herzegovina have agreed on a general ceasefire throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to take effect on 10 October.

Izetbegović: I have today reached agreement, on behalf of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on a ceasefire. The signatories to the agreement on the American side were Mr Holbrooke and Ambassador Menzies.

Hadžifejzović: As befits the Americans, President Clinton announced the general ceasefire in Bosnia and Herzegovina today in spectacular Hollywood style live on CNN and the other TV channels.

Bill Clinton, US President:

It gives me great pleasure to announce that all sides in Bosnia have agreed a ceasefire, an end to all hostile military activities throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the same time, the Governments of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia have agreed to begin peace talks in the United States of American on 25 October. . .

The talks will be conducted in association with our negotiating team, to be led by Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke. . .

This is a significant moment in the painful history of Bosnia.

Today all sides have agreed to lay down their arms

to roll up their sleeves

and to get down to working on peace. . .

Hadžifejzović: Interestingly, Radovan Karadžić also gave a statement today. He said that he agrees to everything that was proposed today in Sarajevo.

He forgot the most important thing: nobody even asked him!





Hadžifejzović: Sve strane u Bosni i Hercegovini postigle su dogovor o prekidu vatre na cijeloj teritoriji Republike Bosne i Hercegovine od 10. oktobra.

Izetbegović: Ja sam danas, ispred Bosne i Hercegovine, postigao dogovor o prekidu vatre. Sa američke strane dogovor su potpisali gospodin Holbruk i ambasador Menzis.

Hadžifejzović: Kako to priliči Amerikancima, predsjednik Clinton je danas spektakularno, holivudski, uživo putem CNN-a i ostalih TV-kompanija, najavio prekid vatre u cijeloj Bosni i Hercegovini.

Bill Clinton, predsjednik SAD:

Zadovoljstvo mi je da objavim da su se sve strane u Bosni složile sa prekidom vatre, sa prestankom svih neprijateljskih vojnih aktivnosti na cjelokupnom teritoriju Bosne i Hercegovine.

U isto vrijeme, vlade Bosne, Hrvatske i Srbije složile su se da započnu mirovne pregovore u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama 25. oktobra...

Pregovori će se odvijati u saradnji sa našim pregovaračkim timom koji će predvoditi pomoćnik državnog sekretara, Holbruk...

Ovo je važan trenutak u bolnoj historiji Bosne. Danas su se sve strane složile da odlože svoje oružje, zavrnu rukave i počnu raditi na miru...

Hadžifejzović: Zanimljivo, večeras se oglasio i Radovan Karadžić. Rekao je da prihvata sve što je danas ponuđeno u Sarajevu.

On je zaboravio ono glavno: njega niko ništa nije ni pitao!





NEWS TVBIH

LIVE, Vladimir Srebrov, poet, founder of the SDS, just released from prison

Note. Vladimir Srebrov is one of the strangest figures of the pre-war and war period - such an unusual man that, alone in the gallery of war-time figures, he needs special introduction. He was born in Serbia. lived and worked in Sarajevo, was a poet and founder of the Serbian Democratic Party, SDS, a peacemaker who in September 1992 attempted the impossible and improbable, by going to Ilidža, part of Sarajevo under Serb control, to persuade the hardest-line Serb nationalists that it was time to end the war. Arrested, imprisoned, beaten up... He was held prisoner in Kula prison, near Sarajevo, for more than three years. He died in Sarajevo in 1999 from the after-effects of the beatings he received in prison,

Hadžifejzović: Our quest on the News today is the poet Vladimir Srebrov.

Vladimir, welcome to Sarajevo.

This will be a chance for you to tell us about all the horrors you endured during your thirty-nine months in Kula prison. I'm interested in one episode that I heard about from two prisoners who were later exchanged. It's like a scene from a movie, as the man recounted it as if he was a playwright: four 'heavies' had beaten you so severely that you were on the verge of passing out, and yet, in that state, at their feet, you still beat your hands together as though applauding, chanting 'Bosnia, Bosnia'.

Srebrov: That's right.

You know, if someone in prison wanted to show that he was a 'great Serb', they used me to demonstrate it, I'd get a good going over, to make him a 'greater Serb'. It's quite true, what you heard. On one occasion I asked if I could watch the TV Bosnia and Herzegovina News. And they did that. I'm surprised you got to hear about it.

Hadžifejzović: Ah well, we have good sources. . .

There are plenty of reasons for your being banged up there.

One of them was in May 1992, and a meeting of Sarajevo Serbs right in the centre of Sarajevo, by the Eternal Flame.

Let's have a look.







(UŽIVO) Vladimir Srebrov, pjesnik, osnivač SDS-a, upravo oslobođen iz zatvora

Napomena: Vladimir Srebrov je jedna od najčudnijih figura prijeratnog i ratnog perioda. Toliko neobičan čovjek da jedini u galeriji svih ratnih likova treba biti posebno predstavljen: Roden u Srbiji, živio i radio u Sarajevu, pjesnik, osnivač Srpske demokratske stranke - SDS, mirotvorac, uhapšen u septembru 1992. godine. Pokušao nemoguće i nevjerovatno, otišao na Ilidžu, dio Sarajeva pod srpskom kontrolom, kako bi najtvrđe srpske nacionaliste ubjiedio da je vrijeme za kraj rata, uhapšen, zatvoren, isprebijan...U zatvoru Kula, nadomak Sarajeva, bio zatvoren više od tri godine... Od posljedica zatvorskih batina umro u Sarajevu 1999. godine.

Hadžifejzović: Gost naše emisije je pjesnik Vladimir Srebrov.

Vladimire, dobro došao u Sarajevo.

Biće prilike da ti objasniš sav taj užas od 39 mjeseci koji si preživio u zatvoru Kula... Mene interesuje jedna "epizoda" koju sam čuo od dvojice zatvorenika koji su kasnije razmijenjeni.

To je filmska scena, čovjek ju je ovako, dramaturški opisao: četvorica "grmalja" su te toliko tukla da si bio na ivici svijesti i kome i da si ipak, takav, sav polomljen pod njihovim nogama, ipak udarao rukama, kao da aplaudiraš, skandiraš i govorio: "Bosna, Bosna..."

Srebrov: To je tačno.

Znate, u zatvoru kada i ako je trebalo da se neko dokaže kao "veliki Srbin", to je trebao pokazati na meni, da budem dobro izubijan, da bi on bio "veliki Srbin"...

To je tačno što ste čuli.

Jednom prilikom sam tražio da gledam Dnevnik Televizije Bosne i Hercegovine ...i to su uradili...Čudi me da ste vi to doznali.

Hadžifejzović: Ah, imamo mi dobrih izvora...

lma puno "razloga" zbog kojih si ti tamo "zaglavio".

Jedan od njih je maj 1992. godine i jedan skup predstavnika sarajevskih Srba usred Sarajeva, pred Vječnom vatrom.

Da pogledamo.







23 October 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Vladimir Srebrov, 17 May 1992:

I'd like to see the members of my people, the Serb nation, telling the cameras explicitly what troubles us all... To express our pain at everything that's happening...

The fact is that Radovan Karadžić and the extremist wing of the Serbian Democratic Party, and the media in Serbia, are trying to identify the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina with extremism.

That's not true!

Speak out, say your piece for the defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina!

For the defence of your homes in Bosnia and Herzegovina!

Among you here are people who were born here.

I wasn't born here, but I've I'ved here since 1974, and I regard it as my city. That's why I've stayed here. I've stayed here because I regard the Muslims and the Croats and others as my fellow citizens, too.

Hadžifejzović: I know, and you've proved it, that you are simply indestructible. No doubt you intend to continue the speech you began in 1992. I assume there's some political commitment ahead of you again.

Srebrov: There's no doubt. I'm amazed you were able to find that footage.

Hadžifejzović: We were talking about the 'extremist wing of the SDS' too in those days. Now it's all turned into extremism. A new party?

Srebrov: To this day it's my view that there were and stillare about three hundred thousand Bosnian Serbs on Karadžić's side.

As you know, according to the (1991) census there were one million three hundred thousand Serbs in Bosnia before the war. When I warned everyone that we were facing fascism I encountered considerable opposition from journalists and some of the media, because they thought I was in a struggle for power with Radovan Karadžić. But it wasn't about a power struggle, as anyone can see now.

Hadžifejzović: It wouldn't nave been a bad thing if you'd won!

Srebrov: I've no reason to get into a power struggle with Radovan Karadžić. He and all that Pale crowd have shown who and what they are.

Hadžifejzović: Fine, let's leave that subject.

Vlado, the moment you climbed out of that APC when you were exchanged, you said: 'We've won, just as I told you, we've won!'

Srebrov: And we have!

But let me say it openly: there are still prisons in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are still prisoners. I'm one of them. One little part. A tiny part of the people who went to jail. This is a matter of urgency, that our people, the citizens of Bosnia who are being held in a dozen or so jails, be exchanged as soon as possible.

Hadžifejzović: The fact that they didn't break you, politically, spiritually or physically, is clear from the poem you wrote /about Bosnia/ while you were in Kula. But that's for another occasion.

Srebroy: You know about that too?

Vladimir Srebrov, 17. maj 1992:

Volio bih da vidim pripadnike moga, srpskog naroda da sa ovog mesta progovore jasno u kameru o onome što nas sve zajedno tišti...Da iskažemo svoju bol zbog svega što se dešava...

Činjenica je da Radovan Karadžić i ekstremno krilo Srpske demokratske stranke SDS i mediji Srbije pokušavaju da identifikuju Srbe Bosne i Hercegovine sa ekstremizmom.

To nije tačno!

Progovorite, kažite svoju reč u odbranu Bosne i Hercegovine!

U odbranu vaših ognjišta u Bosni i Hercegovini!

Oyde među vama ima ljudi koji su rođeni ovde.

Ja nisam rođen ovde, ali živim od 1974. godine ovde i smatram ovaj grad svojim.

Zato sam ostao u njemu. Ostao sam zato što smatram da su mi sugrađani i muslimani i Hrvati i ostali...

Hadžifejzović: Ja o tebi znam, to si i dokazao, da si jednostavno neuništiv čovjek. Vjerovatno ti namjeravaš da nastaviš ovaj govor koji si održao 1992. godine? Predstoji ti, vjerovatno, opet neki politički angažman.

Srebrov: U to nema sumnje, Čudi me da ste mogli da nađete ovaj snimak...

Hadžifejzović: 1 mi smo tada govorili "ekstremno krilo SDS-a". Sad je sve to otišlo u ...ekstremizam... Neka nova stranka?

Srebrov: Ja i danas smatram da je na strani Radovana Karadžića bilo i ostalo oko tri stotine hiljada Srba Bosne.

Kako znate, po popisu prije rata u Bosni je bilo milion i tri stotine hiljada Srba.

Kada sam upozoravao na fašizam koji nas očekuje nailazio sam na veoma velike otpore od novinara i nekih medija, jer su oni smatrali da se ja borim za vlast sa Radovanom Karadžićem. Stvar nije bila u borbi za vlast, to se sada i pokazalo.

Hadžifejzović: To i ne bi bila loša varijanta, da si ga ti pobijedio!

Srebrov: Sa Radovanom Karadžićem ja nemam šta da se borim za vlast.

On je pokazao, kao i ta "paljanska" grupa, ko su i šta su.

Hadžifejzović: Dobro, nećemo o tome.

Vlado, ti si odmah po izlasku iz transportera, nakon što si razmijenjen, rekao:

Pobijedili smo, kao što sam vam rekao, pobijedili smo!

Srebrov: Jesmo!

Ali, da kažem javno-u Bosni i Hercegovini još ima zatvora, još ima zatvorenika.

Ja sam jedan. Jedan mali delić. Mali deo od tih ljudi koji su izišli iz zatvora.

To je prioritet, da naši ljudi, građani Bosne koji se nalaze u desetak zatvora, što hitnije budu razmijenjeni.

Hadžifejzović: To da te nisu politički, duhovno i fizički slomili dokazuje pjesma /o Bosni/ koju si napisao u Kuli. O tome drugi put.

Srebrov: 1 to znate ?!

31 October 1995

NEWS TVBIH

The peace talks on Bosnia and Herzegovina begin tomorrow in the American town of Dayton.

November 1 - a day for the history books, or a continuation of the cataclysm? We'll see in a week or two, or maybe longer. . .

The Bosnia and Herzegovina state delegation set off today for America. The delegation consists of President Izetbegović, Presidency member Ivo Komšić, Speaker of the Parliament Miro Lazović, Prime Minister Haris Silajdžić, Deputy Prime Minister Jadranko Prlić, Minister Muhamed Saćirbegović and President of the Federation Krešimir Zubak.

What do the people of Mostar, Sarajevo, Tuzla and Zenica think of the talks?

Woman: We have been let down so much by the whole world so far that it's hard to believe in them.

Woman: We've waited long enough. It has to come to an end one day.

Combatant: I think the other side is sick of this war, too.

It's clear that on the eve of the talks there are attempts to 'soften up' the Bosnian side with cash promises and to blackmail the Serb side with further indictments "for war crimes".

Energoinvest has won a contract in Malaysia by international tender, in competition with the world's largest companies. The value of the contract exceeds eleven million dollars. This is the first and largest contract to be awarded to a company from Bosnia and Herzegovina by international tender.

It's good that world bankers are offering us funds for reconstruction.

It's sweeter when we earn it for ourselves.

The first is known as char tv.

and the second as business, commerce or, in translation, the State.

31 October 1995

NEWS TVBIH

Yasushi Akashi has left us.

He is finally and conclusively no longer the Balkan emissary of Boutros Ghall.

After being 'demobbed', Akashi said he was terribly sorry. We aren't.









31. oktobar 1995.

Sutra u američkom gradu Dejtonu počinju mirovni pregovori o BiH.

Prvi novembar – dan za historiju ili za nastavak kataklizme? Vidjećemo za sedmicu, dvije, možda i duže...

Državna delegacija Bosne i Hercegovine danas je otputovala za Ameriku u sastavu: predsjednik lzetbegović, član Predsjedništva Ivo Komšić, predsjednik Parlamenta Miro Lazović, premijer Haris Silajdžić, vicepremijer Jadranko Prlić, ministar Muhamed Šaćirbegović i predsjednik Federacije Krešimir Zubak.

Šta građani Mostara, Sarajeva, Tuzle i Zenice misle o pregovorima:

Građanka: Mi smo do sada toliko prevareni od čitavog svijeta da teško šta mogu vjerovati.

Građanka: Dugo smo čekali. Treba da se završi jednoga dana.

Borac: Ja mislim da je i drugoj strani stvarno više dojadio ovaj rat.

Očigledno je da se bosanska strana uoči pregovora pokušava "omekšati" novčanim obećanjima, a srpska strana ucijeniti novim potjernicama /za ratne zločine/.

U Maleziji, na međunarodnoj licitaciji u konkurenciji najvećih svjetskih kompanija posao je dobio Energoinvest. Vrijednost posla je preko 11 miliona dolara. Ovo je prvi posao i najveći koji je jedna bh. kompanija dobila na međunarodnim licitacijama.

Dobro je to što nam svjetski bankari nude novac za obnovu. Slade je kada sami zarađujemo.

Prvo se zove sadaka,

a drugo biznis, privreda ili u prijevodu država.

31. oktobar 1995.

Otišao nam je Jasuši Akaši. Definitivno je otišao sa pozicije balkanskog izaslanika Butrosa Galija.

Nakon što je "demobilisan", Akaši je rekao da mu je strašno žao. Nama nije.









18 November 1995

NEWS TVBIH

We have received reports that the Dayton negotiations could end in a few hours.

To put it in sporting language, the score is nil-nil at present, but there'll probably be some goals in the next few hours.

There are reports that the final so ution could be equally painful for all three sides.

Trying to find a just solution on the principle of equal jeopardy for all is in fact a typical example of injustice.

The Foreign Minister of BiH resigned today.

We called Dayton this evening.

It was high time for us to make a bit of an entrance into that well-guarded information space. We asked Minister Šaćirbegović why he'd resigned.

Muhamed Šaćirbegović, Foreign Minister of BiH:

Whatever the outcome in Dayton, the crucial thing is to ensure we can live and make good in the Federation. . . Since the Croat side is demanding the post of Prime Minister or of Foreign Minister, 1 offered to resign.

Hadžifejzović: You have said you are not satisfied with the way the negotiations went. Why is that?

Sacirbegovic: That's not quite right. The preliminary results weren't what I'd hoped for. But it's not all over yet. But when it comes to having to make compromises, difficult compromises, no one is going to be happy about it.





Prema našim informacijama, u narednim satima pregovori u Dejtonu bi mogli biti okončani. Sportskim rječnikom kazano, sada je rezultat nula-nula, u narednim satima će vjerovatno biti golova. lma nagovještaja da bi konačno rješenje moglo biti podjednako bolno za sve tri strane. Upravo to traganje za pravdom čiji je princip svakog oštetiti, tipičan je primjer nepravde.

Ministar vanjskih poslova BiH danas je podnio ostavku. Mi smo večeras nazvali Dejton. Bilo je krajnje vrijeme da i mi malo uđemo u taj dobro čuvani informativni prostor. Ministra Šaćirbegovića pitamo za razloge ostavke.

Muhamed Šaćirbegović, ministar vanjskih poslova BiH:

Bez obzira na ishod u Dejtonu najvažnije je da osiguramo život i uspjeh u Federaciji...Pošto hrvatska strana zahtijeva ili mjesto premijera ili mjesto ministra vanjskih poslova, ja sam ponudio ostavku.

Hadžifejzović: Vi ste izjavili da niste zadovoljni tokom pregovora. Zašto?

Šaćirbegović: Nije baš to tačno. Preliminarni rezultati nisu ono što bih ja želio. U cijelosti ovo nije završeno. Ali, kada se dođe u situaciju da se prave kompromisi, teški kompromisi, niko ne može biti zadovoljan.





18 November 1995

NEWS TVBIR

Our children have suffered the most in this war. And on their shoulders lies the future of this country.

In Sarajevo, sixteen hundred boys and girls have been killed. In Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole, more than twenty thousand little Bosnians.

In Sarajevo, at the insistence of the mothers of children who've been killed, children have acquired their own Square opposite the Great Park.

It's just a small step between proclaiming our concern for children, the pain we feel at their death, and unconcern and ob ivion.

It would be a terrible thing if our youngest casualties were to be wept over only by their mothers.





18. novembar 1995.

Naša djeca su najveći stradalnici ovoga rata. A na njihovim leđima je i budućnost ove zemlje.

U Sarajevu je ubijeno hiljadu i šest stotina dječaka i djevojčica. U Bosni i Hercegovini preko dvadeset hiljada malih Bosanaca.

U Sarajevu su na insistiranje majki ubijene djece djeca dobila svoj trg u Velikom parku.

Samo je mali korak od proklamovane brige za djecu, velikog bola zbog njihove pogibije do nebrige i zaborava.

Biće užasno ako naše najmlađe budu oplakivale samo njihove majke.





22 November 1995

NEWS TVBIH

THE FIRST TV BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA NEWS since the initialling of the Peace Accord in Dayton THE DAY AFTER

LIVE in the studio, Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hadžifejzović: Last night the Peace Accord was signed in Dayton.

Today, Sarajevans welcomed you with flowers.

Izetbegović: As far as I know, it was a completely spontaneous welcome. I was delighted, of course.

Hadžifejzović: Can you now give us an assessment of last night's accord.

Izetbegović: The best thing would be to enumerate the good and the bad.

It's good that the continuation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an integral, sovereign state has been confirmed, regulated and established; that we remain a member of the United Nations, that there are other institutions to carry out the functions of the state, among them a Central Bank and a single currency.

There will be a three-member Presidency.

There will be a Republic government with six or seven posts.

There will be a Parliament.

There will be a Constitutional Colurt.

We are not satisfied, though, because we are afraid that the functioning of these authorities could be hindered by the fact that wherever you look there are requirements that they work by consensus, by parity, by veto and so on, so th's could lead to the functioning of these bodies being stalemated.

I believe that we shall succeed in winning and integrating Bosnia so that we shall show the same energy we demonstrated when fighting with rifles in our hands in our work now, and in education.

Hadžifejzović: Despite everything that's been agreed, in the event of the Serb side rejecting it. . .

Izetbegović: General rejection! If Karadžić's Serbs reject this accord, I think there's another option the military option.

We would be armed, since the embargo has been lifted, and we shall have the assistance of the international community in this.

The likelihood in this event of our being able to resolve the problems in Bosnia militarily is – total. In the event of their rejecting the Accord, after waiting a reasonable time we shall set the entire Accord aside.

Hadžifejzović: This is probably no coincidence: exactly six months ago you said that the siege of









PRVI DNEVNIK TV BIH nakon postizanja mirovnog sporazuma u Dejtonu DAN POSLIJE

(UŽIVO) u studiju Alija Izetbegović, predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH

Hadžifejzović: Sinoć je u Dejtonu potpisan Mirovni sporazum.

Danas su Vas Sarajlije dočekale sa cvijećem.

Izetbegović: Koliko je meni poznato, to je bio potpuno spontani doček. Naravno da me je obradovao.

Hadžifejzović: Možete li danas da procijenite sinoć potpisani dogovor.

Izetbegović: Najbolje bi bilo nabrojati šta valja, šta ne valja.

Dobro je što je potvrđen, regulisan i utvrđen opstanak Bosne i Hercegovine kao cjelovite, suverene države, što ostaje članica Ujedinjenih naroda, što su ostale institucije koje obezbjeđuju funkcioniranje države, među kojima je i Centralna banka i jedinstvena moneta.

Biće predsjedništvo od tri člana.

Biće republička vlada sa šest, sedam mjesta.

Biće parlament.

Biće ustavni sud.

Nismo zadovoljni zato što se bojimo da bi funkcioniranje ovih organa moglo biti otežano, jer svugdje se nalaze neki zahtjevi za konsenzusima, paritetima, veto itd; pa bi se moglo desiti da blokiraju rad ovih organa.

Mislim da ćemo uspjeti da pobijedimo i integriramo Bosnu tako što ćemo energiju koju smo pokazali, boreći se s puškom u ruci, pokazati u našem radu i obrazovanju.

Hadžifejzović: Mimo svega dogovorenog, u slučaju opiranja srpske strane...

Izetbegović: Generalnog opiranja! Ukoliko bi "Karadžićevi Srbi" odbili ovaj sporazum, onda, mislim, ostaje druga varijanta – vojno rješenje.

Mi bismo bili naoružani, jer će se embargo ukinuti, bićemo pomognuti od međunarodne zajednice da to uradimo.

Naše šanse, da tada, vojnim putem riješimo problem u Bosni su - potpune. U slučaju da oni odbiju ovaj ugovor, poslije razumnog roka čekanja mi ćemo ovaj ugovor u cijelosti otkazati!

Hadžifejzović: Ovo vjerovatno nije slučajno: Vi ste prije tačno pola godine kazali da će se Sarajevo









22 November 1995

NEWS TV BIH

Sarajevo would be lifted, by political or military means, on 25 November.

Izetbegović: I have to be honest and say I'm not so smart that I can foresee what's going to happen even three or four days ahead.

But it did happen, after all. If we hadn't reached a solution this way, we'd have done it militarily.

We'd have liberated Sarajevo militarily.

It's just that we did it around the table, without casualties.

We had the forces and the plans to achieve 't by military means.

We knew their weak points, after our spring offensive.

Hadžifejzović: Today's opinion poll shows that people in the country and refugees alike are less nappy about the Accord than most of the people of Sarajevo.

Izetbegović: People living as refugees can hardly be satisfied, of course.

A continuation of the war would perhaps have led to still more refugees.

Look what happened to us in July. We couldn't run the risk of another Srebrenica and Depa.

War is a process that is not susceptible to control.

I think we have more chance of doing something for our refugees by peaceful means than by war.

Hadžifejzović: Here's a strange thing.

At the start of the war, when we were at our weakest, unprepared for war, we were at our most optimistic. We believed we would in the end achieve a definitive victory, like in the films: entering our towns, with our tanks and our flags!

The longer the war went on, the more real stic we became. People began to say that every war ends in peace talks and peace signatures.

Now it's unrealistic to talk about victory or defeat.

But for all that, who is closest to victory at this point?

Izetbegović: At that time we were counting on the world coming to our aid, but it didn't happen.

We were abandoned to our own devices, to fight, at times against two enemies simultaneously. It's important to end that pendulum of war, and then to try by peaceful, political means to regain the rest of Bosnia.

Hadžifejzović: So who, then, is closest to victory?

Izetbegović: Neither side has achieved its aims.

We are moving towards those aims.

The other side is going in the other direction. It's on the downward path.

If we take into account the time factor, we shall achieve our goals and they will lose, in the end.









do 25. novembra vojnim ili političkim putem deblokirati!!!

Izetbegović: Moram biti pošten pa kazali da ja nisam bio toliko pametan pa predvidjeti da će se to desiti, evo, tri-četiri dana prije!

lpak se dogodilo. I da nije bilo ovog pozitivnog rješenja - mi bismo to vojno odrdaili.

Mi bismo vojno Sarajevo oslobodili.

Riječ je samo o tome da za zelenim stolom smo to uradili bez žrtava.

Mi smo imali snage i plana da to uradimo vojnim putem.

Znali smo im slabe tačke nakon proljetne ofanzive naše.

Hadžifejzović: Današnje ankete pokazuju da su ljudi iz unutrašnjosti i izbjeglice manje zadovoljni ovim sporazumom od većine građana Sarajeva.

Izetbegović: Izbjegli narod ne može biti zadovoljan, naravno.

Nastavak rata možda bi stvorio nove izbjeglice.

Vidite šta nam se dogodilo u julu. Mi nismo smjeli rizikovati nove Srebrenice i Žepe.

Rat je proces koji se ne da kontrolisati.

Mislim da imamo više šansi da za naš izbjegli narod uradimo više mirnim putem nego ratom.

Hadžifejzović: To je jedna čudna stvar.

Na početku rata, kada smo bili najslabiji, dakle nespremni za rat, bili smo najveći optimisti. Vjerovali smo u konačnu, definitivnu pobjedu, onako filmski: ulazak u naše gradove, sa našim tenkovima i našim zastavama!

Što je rat više odmicao, bivali smo realniji. Počela je priča da svaki rat završava mirovnim pregovorima, mirovnim potpisom...

Sada je irealno govoriti o pobjedi ili porazu.

Ali, ipak, ko je bliži pobjedi u ovom momentu?

Izetbegović: Mi smo tada računali na pomoć svijeta, koja je izostala.

Mi smo ostavljeni sami da se borimo, ponekad sa dvije strane.

Bitno je zaustaviti to ratno klatno a onda da pokušamo mirnim, političkim sredstvima da osvojimo ostatak Bosne.

Hadžifejzović: Ko je, dakle, bliži cilju u ovom momentu?

Izetbegović: Ni jedna ni druga strana nije postigla svoje ciljeve.

Mi smo u kretanju ka tim ciljevima.

Druga strana ide u obratnom smjeru. U silaznoj je situaciji.

Ako uzmemo onaj "faktor vrijeme", mi ćemo postići naše ciljeve, oni će konačno izgubiti.









22 November 1995

NEWS TV BIH

Hadžifejzović: We are now facing, then, a wholly different kind of battle for an integral Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Are we ready for that long political battle to reintegrate the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Izetbegović: I believe we are absolutely ready.

I think that this people of ours, this battle-hardened people, proven in battle, by investing its energy in a different way, instead of in war – in the development of the economy, the advance of education – would create a model of living – a model society that would triumph, in the next fifteen or twenty years, over that dark one over there /in the other part of the state/.

Hadžifejzović: As far as I can see, you don't mention any kind of purely national concept.

Izetbegović: If we want Bosnia and Herzegovina, we must not highlight the national issue over-much. We have to try to be Bosnians.

No one needs to forget his own tradition.

Everyone should nurture his own tradition, but also nurture the idea of a Bosnian state, resting on democracy, representing an open society.

Hadžifejzović: Bosnia as it once was?

Izetbegović: That wasn't ideal, either.

Not under Turkey, not under Austro-Hungary, not under Yugoslavia.

But we can always keep moving ahead.

Hadžifejzović: That was the News.

My greetings to our soldiers, and goodbye to our viewers!



Hadžifejzović: Pred nama je, dakle, sasvim novi način borbe za cjelovitu Republiku Bosnu i Herce-govinu.

Da li smo spremni za tu dugu političku borbu reintegracije Republike Bill?

Izetbegović: Mislim da smo apsolutno spremni.

Mislim da bi ovaj naš narod, prekaljeni narod, prekaljen u borbi, ulažući energiju na jedan drugi način umjesto u rat - u razvoj privrede, u razvoj obrazovanja on bi stvorio jedan model življenja-model društva koji bi u narednih petnaest, dvadeset godina pobijedio onaj tamo /u drugom dijelu države/ mrak.

Hadžifejzović: Koliko primjećujem, ne pominjete nikakvu čisto nacionalnu koncepciju.

Izetbegović: Ako hoćemo Bosnu i Hercegovinu, onda ne smijemo suviše potertavati nacionalno pitanje. Trebamo pokušati da budemo Bosanci.

Niko ne treba da zaboravi svoju tradiciju.

Svako treba da njeguje svoju tradiciju, ali i da njeguje ideal jedne bosanske države koja počiva na demokratiji, koja predstavlja otvoreno društvo..

Hadžifejzović: Bosna kao nekad?

Izetbegović: Nije ni ona bila idealna.

Ni pod Turskom, ni pod Austrijom, ni pod Jugoslavijom.

Ali mi možemo da idemo uvijek naprijed.

Hadžifejzović: Poštovani gledaoci, bio je ovo Dnevnik.

Pozdrav borcima, doviđenja gledaocima!





AFTERWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THIS BOOK

"GOOD EVENING, THIS IS WAR."

Yes. I was the one, the first to announce the war. I announced it, but I never closed it. This war is still on.

It is waged through different means - political, economic, media ones.

The 'State' officially 'recognised' the war in late June 1992, a most three months after it had been announced in the Central News programme of the public broadcaster.

The State and the neighbouring states, aided by other great states, closed the war in November 1995 in Dayton, and 'agreed' on a State that remained in a permanent state of war, though with no shooting. Everything else remained the same. But there is no shooting.

The people are traumatised and terrified and they keep saying: for as long as there's no shooting, it's fine. The country is ruled and governed by successors to the wartime leaders, ideologies and policies. Instead of the 'holy trinity of Bosnia,' we have a holy disunity.

All the three ethnic political saints have their own seats, in three holy cities: Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar. Their tripod is in Sarajevo, in the Presidency of the State.

The saints change, the chairs remain. Each four, eight or ten years, a new political saint, a new leader, takes one of the old chairs.

Exactly twenty-five years after the beginning of the war, the printing of this book has been postponed until December.

I waited for the last judgement and the closure of ICTY.

Ratko Mladić, military leader of the Bosnian Serbs, was convicted for genocide.

Radovan Karadžić, political leader of the Bosnian Serbs, was convicted for genocide.

Jadranko Prlić, Bruno Stojić, Slobodan Praljak, Milivoj Petković, Valentin Ćorić and Berislav Pušić, military and political leaders of the Herzegovina Croats, were convicted for joint criminal enterprise, together with the Croatian president Tudman, minister Šušak, and general Bobetko.

The Republic of Croatia was convicted in The Haque.

The Croat Republic in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Herzeg-Bosnia, was convicted.

The Republic of Serbia was not convicted in The Hague.

The Serb Republic in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republika Srpska, was not convicted.

The International Tribunal ruled that all that happened in this country, all that is contained in this book, was genocide and joint criminal enterprise,

> So, it would be logical to announce the end of the war here. I still cannot write and read: "This was war."

I am waiting for our dear country, Bosnia and Herzegovina, to become a member state of NATO and the European Union.

And then I will write and read the announcement to close the war. However, I may have to write a new announcement, the beginning of a new war. In the Balkans, war is a permanent state, the ceasefires are temporary occurrences...

Senad Hadžifejzović

POGOVOR DRUGOM IZDANJU OVE KNJIGE

"DOBRO VEČE, OVO JE RAT."

Da, ja sam taj, prvi, koji je najavio rat. Najavio, ali nikada nisam odjavio rat. Ovaj rat još traje.

Rat se vodi drugim sredstvima, političkim, ekonomskim, medijskim.

"Država" je rat službeno "priznala" tek krajem juna 1992. godine, gotovo tri mjeseca nakon najave rata u Dnevniku državne televizije.

Država i susjedne države, uz pomoć velikih država odjavile su rat u Dejtonu u novembru 1995. godine i "dogovorile" državu koja je ostala u ratnom stanju, samo bez pucanja.

Sve ostalo je ostalo isto. Samo se ne puca.

Narod je istraumiran, isprepadan i veli: samo nek' se ne puca.

Zemljom vladaju i upravljaju nasljednici ratnih vođa, ideologija, politika.

Umjesto svetog bosanskog trojstva imamo sveto političko rastrojstvo.

Sva tri nacionalna politička sveca imaju svoje stolice u tri stolna grada,

Sarajevu, Banjaluci i Mostaru.

Tronožac im je u Sarajevu, u Predsjedništvu države.

Sveci se mijenjaju, stolice ostaju. Svakih četiri, osam, deset godina, novi politički svetac, lider, vođa zasijeda u staru stolicu.

Štampanje ove knjige, tačno dvadesetpet godina nakon početka rata, odloženo je do decembra. Čekao sam zatvaranje Haškog tribunala i posljednje presude.

Vojni vođa bosanskih Srba, Ratko Mladić, osuđen je za genocid.

Politički vođa bosanskih Srba, Radovan Karadžić, osuđen je za genocid.

Vojne i političke vođe hercegovačkih Hrvata, Jadranko Prlić, Bruno Stojić, Slobodan Praljak, Milivoj Petković, Valentin Ćorić i Berislav Pušić osuđeni su za udruženi zločinački poduhvat zajedno s hrvatskim predsjednikom Tuđmanom, ministrom Šuškom, generalom Bobetkom.

Republika Hrvatska je u Hagu osuđena.

Hrvatska Republika u Bosni i Hercegovini, Herceg Bosna, je osuđena.

Republika Srbija nije u Hagu osuđena.

Srpska Republika u Bosni i Hercegovini, Republika Srpska, nije osuđena.

Međunarodni sud je presudio da je sve što se desilo u ovoj zemlji i sve što je objavljeno u ovoj knjizi genocid i udruženi zločinački poduhvat.

Logično bi bilo da na ovom mjestu odjavim rat. Još ne mogu napisati i izgovoriti odjavu "Ovo je bio rat". Čekam da naša zemljica, Bosna i Hercegovina, postane članica NATO saveza i Evropske Unije. Tada ću napisati i izgovoriti odjavu rata.

No, možda tada budem morao napisati novu najavu početka nekog novog rata. Na Balkanu, rat je permanentno stanje, ratno stanje, samo su primirja povremena i privremena...

Senad Hadžifejzović

Šest godina poslije

Six years later

PRINCIPAL PLAYERS

April 2002

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ - pensioner, honorary president of the Party for Democratic Action, writer of memoirs, in poor health

STJEPAN KLJUIĆ - president of the civic Republican party, member of one Board of Directors, newspaper columnist, pipe-smoker

HARIS SILAJDŽIĆ - party president on extended leave, his Party for BiH led by a multi-member Presidency, while awaiting right time to return to the political stage is giving lectures around Europe and America and holidaying in Turkey

FIKRET ABDIC - in jail again, not for fraud but because of the war, on trial in Karlovac, Croatia, for events in western Bosnia, trial is not particularly exciting, he is exercising the right to silence

NIJAZ DURAKOVIĆ - member of the Social Democratic Party of which he was president before and during the war, intra-party opposition, University professor with political ambitions

EJUP GANIĆ - left without a single political office or function, not a member of any party, University professor, features in the media solely on account of having built a villa in the centre of Sarajevo

STJEPAN ŠIBER - retired General, author of a book on the war, member of Kljuić's Republican Party, Parliamentary deputy, well-liked in Sarajevo

JOVO DIVJAK - retired General, founder and active member of a humanitarian organization for the education of children, roguish, regular attender at every cultural event, awarded major French decoration

MUSTAFA CERIĆ - same as during the war, supreme leader of the Islamic Community of BiH, professor in Malaysia, still no stranger to politics

VINKO PULIC - same as during the war, supreme leader of the Catholic community in BiH, a cardinal not much asked after in western Herzegovina

ABDULAH SIDRAN - still the country's foremost writer, has not written the novel of his life since he has to make a living writing columns for newspapers, four outstanding screenplays awaiting an end since he links them end to end, author of a brilliant stage play on the war in Zvornik, where he left his heart

EMIR KUSTURICA - a great Sarajevan who has never returned to his city nor even visited it, lives in Paris, Belgrade and San Stefano, makes films on war-time love stories, likes to give interviews about Sarajevo and to denigrate the city needlessly, no longer well-liked in Bosnia

ZDRAVKO GREBO - University professor, revolutionary, announces political involvement

GLAVNI LIKOVI

April, 2002.

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ -penzioner, počasni predsjednik Stranke demokratske akcije, pisac memoara, lošeg zdravlja.

STJEPAN KLJUIĆ -predsjednik Građanske partije republikanaca, član jednog Upravnog odbora, kolumnista u novinama, puši lulu.

HARIS SILAJDŽIĆ -predsjednik stranke na dužem odmoru. Njegovu Stranku za BiH vodi višečlano Predsjedništvo. Čekajući momenat za povratak na političku scenu drži predavanja po Evropi i Americi, odmara u Turskoj.

FIKRET ABDIĆ -ponovo u zatvoru. Ne zbog privrednog kriminala već rata. U toku suđenje u Karlovcu, za zbivanja u zapadnoj Bosni. Suđenje nije posebno atraktivno. Brani se šutnjom

NIJAZ DURAKOVIĆ -član Socijaldemokratske partije, kojoj je bio predsjednik prije i za vrijeme rata, unutarpartijska opozicija, profesor Univerziteta sa političkim ambicijama.

EJUP GANIĆ -ostao bez ijedne političke funkcije, nije član nijedne partije, profesor Univerziteta. U medijima prisutan isključivo zbog izgradnje vile usred Sarajeva.

STJEPAN ŠIBER -general u penziji, autor jedne knjige o ratu, član Kljuićeve stranke republikanaca, poslanik u Parlamentu, omiljen u Sarajevu.

JOVO DIVJAK -general u penziji, osnivač i aktivista humanitarne organizacije za obrazovanje djece, šeret, redovni posjetilac svih kulturnih događaja, dobitnik visokog francuskog odlikovanja.

MUSTAFA CERIĆ -isto što je bio i u ratu, vrhovni poglavar Islamske zajednice u BiH, profesor u Malez<u>i</u>ji. Politika mu i dalje nije strana.

VINKO PULJIĆ -isto što je bio i u ratu, vrhovni poglavar Katoličke zajednice u BiH, kardinal kojeg slabo pitaju u zapadnoj Hercegovini.

ABDULAH SIDRAN -i dalje "prvo pero" zemlje. Nije napisao roman života, jer mora preživljavati pišući rubrike za novine. Četiri genijalna filmska scenarija čekaju kraj , jer on spaja kraj sa krajem. Autor sjajne drame o ratu u Zvorniku gdje je "srce svoje ostavio".

EMIR KUSTURICA -jedini veliki Sarajlija koji se nije vratio u svoj grad, niti ga je posjetio. Živi u Parizu, Beogradu i Svetom Stefanu. Snima film o ljubavnoj ratnoj drami, voli da daje intervjue o Sarajevu i da nepotrebno pljuje po gradu. Više nije omiljen u Bosni.

ZDRAVKO GREBO - profesor univerziteta, revolucionar, najavljuje politički angažman.

RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ - fugitive, inhabitant of Bosnian mountain crags, Herzegovinian karst and Montenegrin monasteries, indicted for war crimes, has a price of five million dollars on his head, has achieved his lifetime's dream of living only with his Serbs and Montengrins, of which there are about one hundred.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ - resident in The Hague, teaches English in Scheveningen jail, self-taught attorney, best friends are Croats and Bosniacs, world's first president in office ever to be held in custody and indicted for war crimes.

MILUTIN KUKANJAC - died two months before publication of this book, eaten away by alcohol and perhaps by his conscience, still known in Sarajevo, even after death, as the 'little ant', for having said that the army wouldn't even trample on an ant

RATKO MLADIĆ - Belgrade resident, goes to matches, visits his daughter's grave, strolls around Belgrade, but no one knows where he is, has a price of five million dollars on his head (with Karadžić), regarded in Bosnia as a coward since his entire war-time tactics were to go for the soft targets of civilians and babies and /knock some sense into their heads/.

VOJISLAV ĐURĐEVAC - retired May 1992, lives alone in Belgrade along with mementoes of former sold ers, particularly fond of an ashtray given him by a soldier from Vranje, believes that he retained his honour as a soldier and that he got out in time

FRANJO TUĐMAN - deceased

BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI - not yet deceased

YASUSHI AKASHI - still known in Sarajevo as the 'little Japanese and great Serb', for having denigrated the city's inhabitants, pro onged their agony and smirked cynically, even more cynically than those attacking the city, no one in the city or in the country as a whole cares the least what has become of him, he is simply ignored

TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI - respected for being the on y United Nations diplomat to have resigned because of the genocide in Srebrenica, but controversial for having resigned instead of continuing to fight for the truth about Srebrenica

MANFRED WÖRNER - the only foreign to whom Sarajevo dedicated an In memoriam

JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH - honorary president of the International Olympic Committee, the man who awarded Sarajevo the Olympics and who restored the Zetra Olympic Hall, well-liked in Sarajevo, the only person who called upon the entire world to stand for a minute's silence in honour of Sarajevo

RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ -bjegunac, stanovnik bosanskih vrleti, hercegovačkog krša i crnogorskih manastira, optužen za ratne zločine, glava mu ucijenjena na pet miliona dolara. Ostvario mu se san pa živi samo sa svojim Srbima i Crnogorcima, njih stotinjak.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ -stanovnik Den Haga, učitelj engleskog jezika u zatvoru Ševeningen, samouki advokat, najbolji mu drugovi Hrvati i Bošnjaci, prvi predsjednik u svjetskoj historiji zatvoren j optužen za ratni zločin.

MILUTIN KUKANJAC -umro dva mjeseca prije objavljivanja ove knjige, pojeo ga alkohol možda i savjest. U Sarajevu ga i mrtvog zovu "mali mrav", jer je rekao da njegova armija neće ni mrava zgaziti.

RATKO MLADIĆ -stanovnik Beograda, ide na utakmice, ide na grob svoje kćerke, šeta Beogradom, ali niko ne zna gdje je! Glava mu vrijedi pet miliona dolara (sa Karadžićevom). U Bosni smatran kukavicom jer mu je sva ratna taktika bila "udri u meso" civila, beba i "razvuci im pamet".

VOJISLAV ĐURĐEVAC -penzionisan u maju 1992. Živi sam u Beogradu od uspomena na bivše vojnike. Obožava jednu pepeljaru koju mu je poklonio vojnik iz Vranja. Smatra da je ostao častan vojnik i da se povukao na vrijeme.

FRANJO TUĐMAN -umro

BUTROS BUTROS GHALI -još nije umro.

JASUŠI AKAŠI -i danas ga u Sarajevu zovu "mali Japanac, veliki Srbin" zato što je ponižavao građane, produžavao njihovu agoniju i smijuljio se cinično, ciničnije od napadača na grad. Nikog u gradu i zemlji ne interesuje njegova sudbina, jednostavno ignorisan.

TADEUŠ MAZOVJECKI -poštovan zato što je jedini diplomata Ujedinjenih naroda koji je podnio ostavku zbog genocida u Srebrenici. Osporavan zato što je podnio ostavku a nije nastavio borbu za istinu o Srebrenici.

MANFRED VERNER -jedini stranac kojem je Sarajevo odalo ln memoriam.

HUAN ANTONIO SAMARANH -počasni predsjednik Međunarodnog olimpijskog komiteta, čovjek koji je Sarajevu dodijelio Olimpijadu i obnovio olimpijsku dvoranu Zetra, voljen u Sarajevu. Jedini koji je pozvao cijeli svijet da ustane na noge i minutom šutnje oda počast Sarajevu

POPE JOHN PAUL II - there is no other religious leader in the entire world wno enjoys so much respect from the followers of another religious as does the Pope from Bosniacs, deservedly.

ARMY OF BIH - no longer exists, amalgamated into the Army of the Federation of (half) Bosnia and Herzegovina

CHETNIKS - in a dormant condition, with occasional outbursts of outrageous behaviour

SERB ARMY - armed forces of Republika Srpsk, the other half of BiH

JNA - now known as the Yugoslav Army, but is still Serb

HVO - see Army of BiH

UNPROFOR - the people who didn't know how to drive, let alone defend and protect us, are now known as SFOR, the Stabilization Force, they just keep right on stabilizing

PEOPLES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - between two and three hundred thousand of them were killed, more than a million became refugees, never to return, some three million are left in BiH, the Serbs and Croats continue to vote for their national parties and the Bosniacs for civic parties

CITIZENS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - mainly badly off, still naive, owners of Skoda motorcars, mostly in mixed marriages, creators of war jokes about themselves, more and more of them living in America and fewer and fewer in Bosnia.

CHILDREN OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - offpsring of the peoples and citizens, called Alija, Haris, Radovan, Momč'lo, Mate, Ante, anxious kids who differentiate themselves in the bigger cit'es by nationality, now have twenty thousand the fewer of their peers because of the war

VICTOR JAKOVICH - serving in Germany, at Garnischpartenkirschen, at the Marshal Security Centre, has gone grey, likes Bosnia and Bosnia likes him, acknowledged citizen of Sarajevo

ARIJANA SARAČEVIĆ - mother raising two sons, has become an ordinary TV reporter

SUADA DILBEROVIĆ - first victim, the bridge on which she was killed now bears her name

MAJA ĐOKIĆ - nothing is named after her in Sarajevo

SENAD HADŽIFEJZOVIĆ - disbarred journalist, barred from working for past two years, unofficial explanation because he was in the war, has written a book, still manages to smile

PAPA IVAN PAVAO DRUGI -u svijetu ne postoji vjerski poglavar jedne vjerske zajednice koji je toliko poštovan od pripadnika druge vjere, kao što Papu poštuju bosanski muslimani.

ARMIJA BIH -više ne postoji, stopljena u Vojsku Federacije (polovine) Bosne i Hercegovine.

ČETNICI -u stanju mirovanja, sa povremenim ispadima.

SRPSKA VOJSKA -oružana sila Republike Srpske, druge polovine BiH.

JNA -sada se zove Vojska Jugoslavije a i dalje je srpska.

HVO -vidi: Armija BiH

UNPROFOR -to su oni koji nisu znali ni da voze a kamoli da nas brane i štite, sada se zovu SFOR, stabilizacijske snage. Stabiliziraju li stabiliziraju.

NARODI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE -ubijeno ih između 200 i 300 hiljada, raseljeno više od milion, odselilo nepovratno neznano, ostalo u BiH oko tri miliona. Srbi i Hrvati i dalje glasaju za nacionalne, Bošnjaci za gradanske stranke.

GRAĐANI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE -uglavnom loše situirani ljudi, naivci i dalje, vlasnici automobila škoda, principijelni u mješovitim brakovima, autori ratnih viceva o sebi, sve više stanovnici Amerike, sve manje Bosne

DJECA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE -potomci naroda i građana, Alija, Haris, Radovan, Momčilo, Mate, Ante, brižni klinci koji se međusobno i u velikim gradovima razlikuju po naciji. Ostali u ratu bez 20 hiljada svojih vršnjaka.

VIKTOR JAKOVIČ -na službi u Njemačkoj, u Garmišpartenkirhenu, u Maršal-centru sigurnosti. Osijedio. Voli Bosnu i Bosna njega. Priznati građanin Sarajeva.

ARIJANA SARAČEVIĆ -majka, odgaja dva sina, prebačena u obične TV reportere.

SUADA DILBEROVIĆ -prva žrtva po kojoj most na kojem je ubijena, nosi njeno ime.

MAJA ĐOKIĆ -po njoj se u Sarajevu ništa ne zove.

SENAD HADŽIFEJZOVIĆ -zabranjeni novinar, ne daju mu da radi već dvije godine. Nezvanično objašnjenje: "zato što je bio u ratu", napisao knjigu. Ipak se smije.

BIL CLINTON – still liked in Bosnia for having brought an end to the sufferings of war, Bosnians have forgiven him for Monica, visited Sarajevo twice since the war, given a (Bosnian) presidential welcome

JACQUES CHIRAC - respected in Bosnia for having helped to bring the war to an end, he too would have been forgiven Monica, visited Sarajevo once

VLADIMIR SREBROV - died in 1999, may his memory live, an honourable and courageous man

ATIF DUDAKOVIĆ - Commanding Officer of the Army of the Federation of half of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but fought for all of Bosnia and Herzegovina

MEHMED ALAGIĆ - accused of crime and corruption in Bosnia and indicted for war crimes in The Hague, at liberty while awaiting trial, saying nothing, ordinary people have a different view of nim from The Hague and Sarajevo

PADDY ASHDOWN – just as the Bosnians, as is their wont, are forgetting how much Paddy was on their side, he is returning to Bosnia as the international community's top man, now he'll have to forget whose side he was on

IVAN STAMBOLIĆ - Serbian legend recounts that before his trip to The Hague Slobodan Milošević had him killed and given a concrete overcoat in some new bridge or other, godfather-style

BIL CLINTON -u Bosni ga vole jer je prekratio njihove ratne muke. Bosanci mu halali Moniku! Dva puta nakon rata boravio u Sarajevu, dočekan kao predsjednik-bosanski.

ŽAK ŠIRAK -U Bosni ga poštuju jer je prekratio ratne muke. Halali bi mu i Moniku, jednom boravio u Sarajevu.

VLADIMIR SREBROV -umro 1999. godine. Slava mu, častan i hrabar.

ATIF DUDAKOVIĆ -komandat Vojske Federacije. Jedne polovine Bosne i Hercegovine, a borio se za cijelu Bosnu i Hercegovinu.

MEHMED ALAGIĆ -u Bosni optužen za kriminal i korupciju, u Hagu optužen za ratni zločin, na slobodi čeka suđenje. Šuti. Obični svijet o njemu misli drugačije od Haga i Sarajeva.

PEDI EŠDAUN -taman kad su Bosanci po starom običaju zaboravili koliko je je Pedi bio na njihovoj strani, on se vraća u Bosnu kao prvi čovjek međunarodne zajednice. Moraće sada on da zaboravi na čijoj je bio strani.

IVAN STAMBOLIĆ -srbijanska legenda kaže: Da ga je Slobodan Milošević prije puta u Hag ubio i zazidao u neki novi most. Onako kao kuma.

25 years after the war started

22 years after the Dayton Peace Accords

25 godina nakon početka rata

22 godine nakon Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma

PRINCIPAL PLAYERS

December 2017

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ – first President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, died on 19 October 2003. He gave his last interview, his last w'll, to the author of this book (by phone, just like during the war). His last words were: 'Bosnia needs to live on. Serbs should be Serbs, Croats should be Croats, Bosniaks should be Bosniaks – but they should be Bosnians above all else. No revenge, let everyone seek justice. Revenge launches a chain of evil that has no end.' His son Bakir Izetbegović "succeeded" him in the Presidency in 2010, for two terms of office, until 2018.

STJEPAN KLJUIĆ – did not succeed in politics. He and most other Bosnian Croats and Serbs who remained patriotically faithful to the idea of Bosnia as a shared state have been rejected by the leaders and parties that merely pay lip service to the policy of togetherness. He writes books about his country and about legendary Bosnians. He writes alone and he sells them alone. To earn a living.

HARIS SILAJDŽIĆ – returned to politics in 2006, won an election and entered the BiH Presidency. Lost to Bakir Izetbegović at the 2000 election. Withdrew from the politica, arena and the party again. Continues to write poetry.

FIKRET ABDIĆ - in 2005, the Supreme Court of Croatia convicted him for war crimes. The only war criminal convicted for war crimes against his own people. Left prison in 2012. Won the 2016 local election for the mayor of Velika Kladuša. Gave the author of this book an exclusive interview after leaving prison. Conscientiously or not, during the interview, he admitted to all the six stages of his political life when he was the "Serbian man" in his own country.

NIJAZ DURAKOVIĆ - died in 2012, aged 62. A former communist leader buried in the yard of the Ali Pasha Mosque. Never returned to the political arena. A distinguished university professor, author of 16 books, mainly about Bosn'a. Just like all the great Bosnians & appreciated only after death. The civic, social-democratic political option lost its informal leader. They wouldn't let him lead.

EJUP GANIĆ – not in politics. Founded a private university. Member of the Academy of Arts and Science of BiH. Arrested in London in 2010, on the basis of an indictment issued by Serbia in relation to wartime events on 2 and 3 May 1992. Judge Laws found the indictment to be politically motivated. Acquitted, among other things, on the basis of evidence from this book. The court in London accepted the transcripts and video recordings from "War: Live on Air" as evidence for the defence.

STJEPAN ŠIBER – died in 2016. A favourite general of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In an interview with the author of this book in 2013 he said: 'I am a Bosnian-Herzegovinian.' Refused to join the Croat army during the war, remained faithful to his country until the end of his life.

JOVO DIVJAK – a favourite Bosnian general, retired, founder of the Youth Education Foundation. Arrested in Vienna in 2011, on the basis of an indictment issued by Serbia in relation to wartime events on 2 and 3 May 1992. 'I was arrested because I defended Sarajevo from general Mladić.' Released shortly. In regular TV interviews with the author of this book, he always emphasizes: 'If someone loves Belgrade more than Sarajevo, they are free to go.' When asked by journalist about various war-related indictments against him, he responds: 'What I have a problem with is the fact that FC Željezničar (Sarajevo) won't win the championship... '

GLAVNI LIKOVI Decembar, 2017.

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ - prvi predsjednik Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, umro 19. oktobra 2003. godine. Posljednji intervju u životu, amanet, oporuku, dao je (telefonom, kao u ratu) autoru ove knjige. Posljednje riječi su mu bile: "Bosna treba da opstane. Srbi neka ostanu Srbi, Hrvati Hrvati, Bošnjaci Bošnjaci, ali da budu Bosanci prije svega. Nema osvete, neka traže pravdu. Osveta pokreće lanac zla kojem nema kraja". Njegov sin, Bakir Izetbegović "naslijedio" ga je u Predsjedništvu države 2010. godine u dva mandata do 2018. godine.

STJEPAN KLJUIĆ – nije uspio u politici. On i većina bosanskih Hrvata i Srba koji su patriotski, do kraja ostali vjerni ideji Bosne, zajedničke države, odbačeni su od onih lidera i stranaka koji formalno vode politiku zajedništva. Piše knjige o svojoj zemlji i legendarnim Bosancima. Sam piše i sam ih prodaje. Od toga živi.

HARIS SILAJDŽIĆ – vratio se na političku scenu 2006. godine i nakon pobjedničkih izbora ušao u Predsjedništvo BiH. 2010. godine izgubio na izborima od Bakira Izetbegovića. Opet se sasvim povukao sa političke scene i stranke. Piše knjige poezije.

FIKRET ABDIĆ – 2005. godine hrvatski Vrhovni sud ga osudio zbog ratnog zločina. Jedini ratni zločinac koji je osuden za ratni zločin protiv svog naroda. Iz zatvora izašao 2012. godine. Na lokalnim izborima 2016. godine izabran za načelnika opštine Velika Kladuša. Autoru ove knjige dao ekskluzivni tv intervju nakon izlaska iz zatvora. Svjesno ili ne, u intervjuu priznao svih šest faza svog političkog života u kojima je bio "srpski čovjek" u svojoj zemlji.

NIJAZ DURAKOVIĆ - umro 2012. godine u 63. godini. Nekadašnji komunistički lider sahranjen u haremu Ali Paša džamije. Nikada se nije vratio na političku scenu. Ugledni profesor univerziteta, autor 16 velikih knjiga, uglavnom o Bosni. Kao i svi veliki Bosanci, tek kada odu budu vrjednovani. Građanska, socijaldemokratska politika izgubila svog neformalnog lidera. Nisu mu dali da bude lider.

EJUP GANIĆ - nije u politici. Osnovao privatni univerzitet. Akademik. Na osnovu optužnice Srbije, uhapšen u Londonu 2010. godine zbog ratnih događaja 2. i 3. maja 1992. godine. Sudija Laws ocijenio da je optužnica politički motivisana. Oslobođen i zbog dokaza iz ove knjige. Londonski sud je prihvatio transkripte i video zapise knjige "Rat uživo" kao dokaz odbrane.

STJEPAN ŠIBER - umro 2016. godine. Omiljeni general Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. U tv intervjuu autoru ove knjige, 2013. godine, rekao: "Ja sam Bosanac i Hercegovac". Odbio u ratu da pređe u sastav hrvatske vojske, ostao vjeran svojoj zemlji do kraja života.

JOVO DIVJAK – Omiljeni bosanski general u penziji, osnivač Fondacije za obrazovanje mladih. Uhapšen u Beču 2011. godine zbog optužnice Srbije za ratne događaje 2. i 3. maja 1992. godine. "Uhapšen sam jer sam branio Sarajevo od generala Mladića". Ubrzo oslobođen. U redovnim tv intervjuima autoru ove knjige ističe: "Ako neko više voli Beograd od Sarajeva, neka ide". Na novinarska pitanja vezana za bezbroj ratnih optužnica protiv njega, odgovara: "Krivo mi što FK Željo neće biti prvak"...

MUSTAFA CERIĆ - head of the Islamic Community in BiH for almost 20 years, until 2012. The author's claim that "he is no stranger to politics, although he's a religious leader" was proved true in the 2014 election, when he ran for state presidency. Winner of numerous international awards (UNESCO) and loser at presidential elections (came in 6th, with some 30,000 votes). Founder of unfinished projects, the World Bosniak Congress and the Bosniak Academy. Professor and international inter-religious activist.

VINKO PULIC - still the cardinal of the Catholic Church, the first in BiH history. 'I am a son of this country,' he has said numerous times in interviews with the author. Continues to lead the Church, despite the hardship and with great skill, past Croat political options (Herzegovinian vs. Bosnian Croats, ethnic vs. civic option) in times when Croats are moving out of BiH. The Bishops' Conference he leads has presented a detailed plan for restructuring the state into four geographic, economic and multi-ethnic regions. The authorities and the political structures have never considered this plan.

ABDULAH SIDRAN - still the "writers' writer". Wrote his first novel, following a long series of poems, film scripts, stories, essays, books... In TV interviews with the author, he said, among other things: 'I am fighting for the dead Sidran, not for this living one;' 'Kusturica is turning Auschwitz into Las Vegas.'

EMIR KUSTURICA – more and more a politician rather than a film director. His "conversion from Bosnian into Serb" is no longer interesting to Sarajevo, his birthplace, and he too is slowing down in his own war. In a TV interview with the author in 2012, when asked "what the f..." was wrong with him, he said: 'When I see you, I'll tell you what the f... is wrong with me, there is no real conflict between Sarajevo and me, there is just verbal abuse... Karadžić wasn't a friend, I don't even know him.'

ZDRAVKO GREBO – professor and a revolutionary, retired. Known for his sharp and candid statements. In his diary, Kusturica admits that when they met in Paris during the war, Grebo told him: 'You are bombarding my city.' Rarely appears in public. Never realised his political engagement as announced.

RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ - indicted war criminal, arrested in Belgrade in 2008. Sentenced to 40 years in 2016, for genocide in Srebrenica. In prison, waiting for the second-instance judgement. If that does not happen, the first-instance one becomes final. His creation, the Republika Srpska, has never been convicted.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ - arrested and handed over to the ICTY in 2001. Death saved him from a sentence against him and his regime, as he died in prison in 2000. Irrespective of all the democratic changes in Serbia and its government, his politics, the idea of a Greater Serbia lives on. The Republika Srpska is his only victory in all the Serbian wars Đ so say his followers and his opponents.

MILUTIN KUKANJAC – an entirely forgotten character. Also forgotten is his general-style statement just before his death, that in 1992 he left all of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the hands of Serb leaders and they "lost half of it".

RATKO MLADIĆ – a war criminal hiding in Serbia, arrested in 2011, convicted for genocide in Srebrenica in 2017 and sentenced to life in prison. A general known for his cowardly attacks against civilians, ended up a real coward, asked for a toilet break while his judgement was being read, turned his back to the judges, shouted. In the courtroom, on the frontline D all the same.

MUSTAFA CERIĆ – gotovo 20 godina bio na čelu Islamske zajednice BiH, do 2012. godine. Tvrdnju autora ove knjige "da mu politika nije strana iako je vjerski vođa", dokazao 2014. godine izbornom kandidaturom za predsjedništvo države. Dobitnik velikih međunarodnih priznanja (UNESCO) i gubitnik predsjedničkih izbora (šesti, oko 30.000 glasova). Osnivač nedovršenih projekata, Svjetskog bošnjačkog kongresa i Bošnjačke akademije. Profesor i međunarodni, međureligijski aktivista.

VINKO PULIĆ - i dalje Kardinal katoličke crkve, prvi u historiji BiH. "Ja sam sin ove zemlje", izjavio više puta u tv intervjuima autoru ove knjige. Teško, ali vješto vodi crkvu između hrvatskih političkih opcija (hercegovački i bosanski Hrvati, nacionalna i građanska opcija) u vremenima kada se iz BiH Hrvati iseljavaju. Biskupska konferencija kojoj je na čelu ima razrađen plan preuredenja države u četiri geografske, ekonomske i multietničke regije. Vlast i politika nisu razmatrali ovaj plan.

ABDULAH SIDRAN – i dalje "prvo pero zemlje". Napisao svoj prvi roman, nakon mase pjesama, scenarija, priča, feljtona, knjiga... U tv intervjuima autoru ove knjige, između ostalog, rekao: "Ja se borim za mrtvog Sidrana, ne za ovog živog", "Kusturica od Aušvica pravi Las Vegas".

EMIR KUSTURICA – sve više političar, a manje režiser. Njegovo "konvertiranje iz bosanstva u srpstvo" njegovom rodnom gradu Sarajevu više nije zanimljivo, a i on posustaje u tom ratu. U jedinom tv intervjuu autoru ove knjige, 2012. godine, na pitanje "Koji mu je k...., rekao: "Kada te vidim reći ću ti koji mi je k...., između mene i Sarajeva nema stvarnog sukoba, ima samo verbalnog delikta... Karadžić mi nije bio prijatelj, ne znam ga".

ZDRAVKO GREBO - profesor i revolucionar u penziji. Poznat po svojim britkim izjavama u brk. Kusturica u svom dnevniku priznaje da mu je Grebo u ratu u Parizu rekao: "Ti bombarduješ moj grad". Javno sve manje nastupa. Nikada nije ostvario najavljeni politički angažman.

RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ - optuženi ratni zločinac uhapšen 2008. godine u Beogradu. 2016. godine osuđen za genocid u Srebrenici, 40 godina. U zatvoru čeka drugostepenu presudu. Ako ne dočeka, čeka ga prvostepena presuda kao konačna. Njegovo djelo, RS, nije osuđeno.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ - uhapšen i isporučen Haškom tribunalu 2001. godine. Od presude njemu, njegovom režimu, spasila ga smrt, umro u zatvoru 2006. godine. Bez obzira na sve demokratske i promjene u vlasti Srbije, njegova politika, ideja Velike Srbije i dalje živi. Republika Srpska je njegova jedina pobjeda u svim ratovima Srbije - kažu njegovi i sljedbenici i protivnici.

MILUTIN KUKANJAC - sasvim zaboravljen lik. Zaboravljena njegova generalska izjava pred smrt da je cijelu Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1992. godine ,sto posto, ostavio u ruke srpskim liderima, a da su oni "izgubili pola".

RATKO MLADIĆ – sakriveni ratni zločinac uhapšen u Srbiji 2011. godine. Osuđen za genocid u Srebrenici 2017. godine, doživotni zatvor. General poznat po kukavičkim napadima na civile, kukavički, neslavno završio i u Hagu, tokom čitanja presude tražio pauzu da ode u toalet, okretao leđa, galamio. U sudnici kao i na ratištu.

VOJISLAV ĐURĐEVAC - an entirely forgotten character, died in 2004. After genera Mladić became the commander of the Serb forces (May 1992), no other JNA general or Serb commander in BiH was ever mentioned as either guilty or responsible for the war, including general Đurđevac. All who had been generals or commanders before Mladić have been "erased".

FRANJO TUĐMAN - in a way, he is the only one who has been posthumously convicted in Den Haag. By convicting the "Croatian 6", the ICTY also convicted Tudman for joint criminal enterprise. Milošević was saved by death from being convicted, Tudman was not.

BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI - died in 2016, aged 93. He was resented in Sarajevo, because of his wartime statement that there were countries in the world where with more people dying than in Bosnia, and because of his passivity, allowing the genocide in Srebrenica to happen. As such people pass, Sarajevo sees them off with silence.

JASUSHI AKASHII - Ghali's special representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, an embodiment of hypocrisy of the international community. "The tiny Japanese, the Great Serb", as Sarajevo referred to him cynically, remained so until today. Testified in Den Haag in defence of Mladić, remained fascinated by Milošević, despised Tuđman and Izetbegović. Aged 87, he lives in Japan.

TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI - died in 2013. Then only UN representative in BiH who resigned D 'This is fake human rights protection.' The only IC representative loved by Bosnians. A honorary citizen of Sarajevo and a honorary Ph.D. of the University of Tuzla. Mazowiecki donated the monetary part of the "Srebrenica 1995" prize to the "Children of Srebrenica" Foundation started by the author, providing scholarships for children who lost both parents in Srebrenica.

MANFRED WERNER - the seventh NATO Secretary General. Died in 1994, during the Bosnian war. Those who were being killed in Sarajevo honoured him. He is not present in the memory of today, although a country striving to join NATO should remember him as a friend.

JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH - died in 2010. A true friend of BiH and Sarajevo. He made the world stand during a minute of silence for Sarajevo at the opening of the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona. The Olympic Sports Centre in Sarajevo, formerly Zetra, bears his name. His hometown was the first to help Sarajevo when the war started. The first humanitarian convoy came from Barcelona.

POPE JOHN PAUL II - died in 2005. Visited Sarajevo in 1997 and Banja Luka in 2003. The only Pope to visit BiH twice. He thus demonstrated his commitment and his respect for this country. A monument in his honour was erected in front of the Cathedral, in the very centre of old Sarajevo. A sincere and inexplicable bond between a Catholic leader and Bosnian Muslims.

ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - dissolved into FBiH Army after the war, and then into the joint BiH Armed Forces.

CHETNIKS - several times a year, they appear and line up in several towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

SERB ARMY - RS Army after the war, then dissolved into the joint BiH Armed Forces.

VOJISLAV ĐURĐEVAC - sasvim zaboravljen lik, umro 2004. godine. Nakon dolaska generala Mladića na čelo srpskih snaga (maj 1992. godine), nijedan general JNA, komandant srpskih snaga u Bosni i Hercegovini više nije ni spomenut, ni kao kriv ni kao zaslužan za rat, pa ni general Đurđevac. Svi koji su bili generali i komandanti prije Mladića, "izbrisani" su.

FRANJO TUDMAN - na neki način on je jedini kojem je posthumno presuđeno u Hagu. Osuđujući "hrvatsku šestorku", Haški tribunal je presudio i Tuđmanu za udruženi zločinački poduhvat. Miloševića je smrt spasila od presude, Tuđmana ni smrt nije spasila od presude.

BUTROS BUTROS GHALI - umro 2016. godine u 93. godini. Bio je omražen u ratnom Sarajevu zbog ratne izjave da ima zemalja u kojima se više gine nego li u Bosni, zbog pasivnosti - dopuštanja genocida u Srebrenici. Takve ljude Sarajevo ispraća šutnjom.

JASUŠI AKAŠI - Ghalijev specijalni predstavnik za Bosnu i Hercegovinu bio je oličenje licemjerstva međunarodne zajednice. "Mali Japanac, veliki Srbin" kako ga je cinično nazvalo Sarajevo, ostao je to i danas. Svjedočio u Hagu u korist Mladića, ostao fasciniran Miloševićem, prezirao Tuđmana i lzetbegovića. Ima 87 godina, živi u Japanu.

TADEUŠ MAZOVJECKI - umro 2013. godine. Jedini predstavnik UN-a za BiH koji je podnio ostavku - "Ovo je lažna zaštita ljudskih prava". Jedini omiljeni predstavnik međunarodne zajednice među Bosancima. Počasni građanin Sarajeva i počasni doktor nauka Tuzla Univerziteta. Novčani iznos nagrade "Srebrenica 1995" Mazovjecki je uplatio Fondaciji "Djeca Srebrenice" koju je osnovao autor ove knjige, za školovanje djece koja su u Srebrenici ostala bez oba roditelja.

MANFRED VERNER - sedmi generalni sekretar NATO-a. Umro 1994. godine u toku bosanskog rata. Oni koji su ginuli u Sarajevu odali mu počast, ln memoriam. Sada nije u memorijama, iako bi zemlja koja teži ulasku u NATO trebalo da ga pamti kao svog prijatelja.

HUAN ANTONIO SAMARAN - umro 2010. godine. Veliki prijatelj BiH i Sarajeva. Digao cijeli svijet na noge, na minutu šutnje za Sarajevo, na otvaranju Olimpijade u Barceloni. Njegovo ime nosi sarajevska olimpijska dvorana, bivša Zetra. Njegov rodni grad prvi je pomogao Sarajevu kada je počeo rat. Prvi humanitarni konvoj došao je iz Barcelone.

PAPA IVAN PAVAO DRUGI - umro 2005. godine. Obišao Sarajevo 1997. godine, Banjaluku 2003. godine. Jedini papa koji je dva puta posjetio Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Tako je dokazao svoju privrženost i svoje poštovanje prema ovoj zemlji. Ispred sarajevske katedrale, u centru starog Sarajeva, podignut mu spomenik. Teško objašnjiva iskrena veza između katoličkog prvaka i bosanskih muslimana.

ARMIJA RBIH - nakon rata stopljena u Vojsku Federacije BiH, a nakon toga u Oružane snage BiH, zajedničku vojsku.

ČETNICI - nekoliko puta godišnje u nekoliko gradova u BiH imaju svoja pojavljivanja, postrojavanja.

SRPSKA VOJSKA - nakon rata Vojska RS-a, nakon toga stopljena u Oružane snage BiH, zajedničku vojsku.

JNA - the Yugoslav army that killed Yugoslavia. Even Serbia no longer mentions it.

HVO - Croat army in BiH, dissolved into the FBiH Army after the war, and then into the joint BiH Armed Forces.

UNPROFOR – UN peace forces during the war, SFOR D stabilisation forces after the war (NATO), IFOR D implementation forces, now EUFOR D European forces in BiH.

PEOPLES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats. Post-war estimates indicating that between 200,000 and 300,000 persons were killed have been reduced to peacetime statistics of some 100,000. More than a million were displaced during the war, with new displacement under way, mass movement of all three peoples to the West. According to the official census, where all inflated their numbers, there are some 3,500,000 persons, but realistically, there are less than 3 million living in the country. Growing fewer by the day.

CITIZENS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - a statistically and politically unrecognised category, others, mixed, nostalgic, the disappearing middle class... The census indicates some 3% of the total population. Since the war and to this date, a group which is consistently and principally leaving.

CHILDREN OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - descendants of peoples and citizens, absolutely the greatest victims of the war and after it, the lost generations, victims of politics and bad education. Alone or with parents, they are moving away. Because of their future, their parents are taking them to the West.

VICTOR JACKOVICH - the first US ambassador to BiH, recipient of numerous awards in BiH. Sarajevo remembers him at anniversaries and events. Between them D rarely. And that is how he lives D far from memory.

ARIJANA SARAČEVIĆ - the best wartime TV reporter, now the author of superb documentaries. Works for FTV, an Entity public broadcaster.

SUADA DILBEROVIĆ – the first victim in Sarajevo. The bridge where she was killed bears her name. The name of Olga Sučić, the second victim, was added later. People call it the Suada and Olga Bridge.

MAJA DOKIĆ - other than her family and friends, and the author of this book, few remember her, the symbolic last victim in Sarajevo.

SENAD HADŽIFEJZOVIĆ - after the first edition of this book in 2003, continued with his central news programme at a private TV station. In 2012 he started his own, private TV station, FACE. Centralni dnevnik, the programme whose wartime editions are in this book, has been on air for 27 years. Almost 2,600 have been broadcast thus far. Always live.

BILL CLINTON - visited Sarajevo twice after the war, and Srebrenica once, for the genocide anniversary. Popular and respected in Sarajevo, detested in Banja Luka.

JACQUES CHIRAC – in an exclusive 1999 TV interview with the author, he explained why he supported the NATO intervention against the Serb army in August 1995 and how he decided on ending the war this way together with president Clinton. A favourite in Sarajevo.

JNA - jugoslovenska armija koja je ubila Jugoslaviju. Ni u Srbiji se više ne pominje.

HVO – hrvatska vojska u BiH, nakon rata stopljena u Vojsku Federacije, a nakon toga u Oružane snage BiH, zajedničku vojsku.

UNPROFOR - mirovne snage UN-a u toku rata, SFOR-stabilizacijske snage nakon rata (NATO snage), IFOR-snage za implementaciju, sada su EUFOR-evropske snage u BiH.

NARODI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE - Bošnjaci, Srbi, Hrvati. Nakon rata, procjene da ih je ubijeno između 200 i 300.000, dotjerana-mirnodopska statistička procjena oko 100.000. U toku rata raseljeno više od milion, u toku novo raseljavanje, masovne seobe na zapad sva tri naroda. Po zvaničnom popisu na kojem su se svi popisivali više nego ih ima-oko 3.500.000, realno u državi živi sigumo manje od tri miliona. I sve ih je manje.

GRAĐANI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE - statistički i politički nepriznata kategorija, ostali, miješani, nostalgičari, srednja klasa koja nestaje... Popis kaže da ih je oko tri posto u zemlji. Od rata do danas, grupa koja se principijelno, bez zastoja iseljava.

DJECA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE – potomci naroda i građana, apsolutno najveći stradalnici rata i nakon rata, izgubljene generacije, žrtve politike i lošeg obrazovanja. Sami ili sa roditeljima, iseljavaju se. Roditelji se zbog njihove budućnosti sele s njima na zapad.

VIKTOR JAKOVIČ – prvi ambasador SAD u BiH, doživio brojne počasti u Bosni i Hercegovini. Sarajevo ga se sjeća na godišnjicama, jubilejima. Između godišnjica rijetko. Tako i živi-daleko od sjećanja.

ARIJANA SARAČEVIĆ - najbolji ratni tv reporter, sada je autor značajnih dokumentarnih filmova. Radi na Federalnoj, entitetskoj televiziji.

SUADA DILBEROVIĆ – prva žrtva Sarajeva, most na kojem je ubijena nosi njeno ime. Naknadno je mostu dodano i ime druge žrtve Olge Sučić. Narod taj most zove Most Suade i Olge.

MAJA ĐOKIĆ - osim porodice, prijatelja i autora ove knjige, malo ko se sjeća simbolične posljednje žrtve Sarajeva.

SENAD HADŽIFEJZOVIĆ – nakon prvog izdanja ove knjige, 2003. godine nastavio sa svojim tv dnevnikom na privatnoj televiziji. 2012. godine osnovao, otvorio svoju privatnu televiziju FACE. TV Dnevnik, čije ratno izdanje ste pročitali u ovoj knjizi, Centralni Dnevnik, gleda se i emituje 27 godina. Do sada je emitovano gotovo 2.600 dnevnika. Svi uživo.

BIL KLINTON - nakon rata, dva puta dolazio u Sarajevo i jednom u Srebrenicu, na godišnjicu genocida. Popularan, omiljen, poštovan u Sarajevu, mrzak Banjaluci.

ŽAK ŠIRAK – u ekskluzivnom tv intervjuu autoru ove knjige, 1999. godine objasnio zašto je bio za vojnu intervenciju NATO snaga protiv srpske vojske u augustu 1995. godine i kako je o takvom završetku rata odlučio zajedno sa predsjednikom Klintonom. Omiljen u Sarajevu.

VLADIMIR SREBROV – d'ed and has been forgotten. Even his friends, poets, fail to mention him in anthologies.

ATIF DUDAKOVIĆ - retired general, a hero who is constantly indicted by the Serb political structures. Logically, one of the few RBiH Army generals who survived the war and the times after the war. No indictment has ever turned into a trial. A legend of the Bosnian war, a winner and a liberator.

MEHMED ALAGIĆ - general, a hero, died in 2003. Family and friends say that "his heart broke" after the Bosnian authorities (Bosniak political leaders) humiliated him with an arrest and a transfer to the ICTY in Den Haag. He would have gone on his own, had he been asked to. Remains a legend of the Bosnian war, a winner and a liberator.

PADDY ASHDOWN - High Representative of the international community in BiH from 2002 until 2006, practically the head of the state, above the law and the constitution, interpreter of the Dayton Agreement, a person with powers. Used the (Bonn) powers Đ removed 59 senior officials and politicians in the RS. Intended to restructure the BiH constitutional setup. Stopped in 2006 and since then no other High Representative has used any powers. Ashdown is a favourite in Sarajevo, undesirable in Banja Luka and Mostar.

IVAN STAMBOLIĆ - killed by the regime of Slobodan Milošević, proved. The question remains: "What would have happened, had it happened?" What would have happened if Stambolić had remained the leader in Serbia, had Milošević not taken the job? This, definitely: there would have been no war, no suffering, and thus this book would not have happened, this in memoriam would hot have been here...

VLADIMIR SREBROV – umro i zaboravljen. Čak ni njegovi prijatelji, pjesnici, ne pominju ga u antologijama poezije.

ATIF DUDAKOVIĆ - penzionisani general, ratni heroj koji je pod stalnim optužnicama srpske političke strane. Logično, jedan je od rijetkih generala Armije RBiH koji je preživio rat i vrijeme nakon rata. Nijedna optužnica nije pretvorena u sudski proces. Legenda bosanskog rata, pobjednik i oslobodilac.

MEHMED ALAGIĆ - general, narodni heroj, umro 2003. godine. Porodica i prijatelji kažu da mu je "puklo srce" nakon što su ga bosanske vlasti (bošnjački politički lideri) ponizili hapšenjem i isporukom Haškom sudu. Otišao bi sam, predao bi se, da je to od njega zatraženo. Ostao legenda bosanskog rata, pobjednik i oslobodilac.

PEDI EŠDAUN - od 2002 - 2006. godine Visoki predstavnik međunarodne zajednice u BiH, praktično prvi čovjek države, iznad ustava i zakona, tumač Dejtonskog sporazuma, osoba sa ovlastima. Koristio ovlasti (Bonske) - smijenio 59 visokih funkcionera i političara RS-a. Imao namjeru da ustavno preuredi BiH. Zaustavljen 2006. godine i od tada nijedan Visoki predstavnik nije iskoristio nijednu ovlast. Ešdaun omiljen u Sarajevu, nepoželjan u Banjaluci i Mostaru.

IVAN STAMBOLIĆ – dokazano da ga je ubio režim Slobodana Miloševića. Ostaje vječno pitanje: "šta bi bilo, da je bilo"? Šta bi bilo da je na mjestu prvog čovjeka Srbije ostao Stambolić, a da nije došao Milošević? Bilo bi sigurno: rata ne bi bilo, stradanja ne bi bilo, dakle ni ove knjige ni ovog in memoriama ne bi bilo...

Biography - An Outline, Expanded A PEOPLE'S SPOKESPERSON WITH A FACE

As I picked through my memories and my soul, I came to the fo lowing conclusion: I haven't met in decades another person who - irrespective of his or her profession - who is as quick to note social injustice and so empathically committed to openly observing its consequence, general misfortune, as Senad Hadžife zov'ć. I know no other person as dedicated and as brave, to face the evil himself first, and then to proceed from the TV screen, bolder than a voice from an altar or a minaret, whichever, to fight to protect the innocent, fully aware of the risks and the consequences. In that, his Centralni dnevnik (CD) Face TV is the last line of defence of the "little" person, irrespective of ethnicity or faith, betrayed by all those whom they democratically elevated to the throne of power, might and shame. He is unsuitable for those whom he fights against, and this he accepts and pays for willingly; for TV viewers in Bosnia and Herzegovina and those globally connected via satellite, he is their most faithful interpreter of their suffering, hopes and dreams. That is why the programme he designs focuses more on the guest in h's studio, rather than any walk of life, any political belief or educational attainment, while the screen draws in the curious ones of unfazed neart and mind, defined precisely as an ordinary TV viewer. For however benevolently reasonable and wisely visionary his thoughts and messages may be, it is his presence that makes them convincing and powerful. I am thus equally professionally respectful and personally dedicated as I write this note about one-of-a-kind TV master who promoted the TV screen into the first BiH and regional TV cinemascope with a clear in-depth image and a human message. Which is why, according to unofficial yet accurate surveys, he became the best-loved TV presenter in the former country, now stored in memories. And this last fact he continues to testify to impartially and publicly, from the clandestine plans more than a quarter-century ago, through murderous and thieving operations on the body of the collective and the individual victims of war, all the way to the bleak reality of peace. With his right index finger raised above it, as a warning and a call to wisdom; the Balkan version of Zola's "J'accuse"! And as much as it is good fortune and an honour for Senad Hadžifejzović to be the one and only, it is a misfortune for BiH, for the region and wherever we may be, that he is not a widespread media and human phenomenon. There is no school that educates students to become Senad H., a person either is or is not him, it is not an acquired skill. Any biography is too short, he enriches it programme after programme, but out of respect for the curious audiences, viewers and readers, here is a possibly authentic one.

His writing talent was first spotted by professor Marković. Instead of Male novine, a teen paper where kids his age shyly sent their literary endeavours, the professor sent a text by his student S. H. to Borba, one of the leading papers in Yugoslavia. The text by the 12 year-old author was published. With a recommendation by Borba, aged 12, he reached the pages of another paper from the club of the greats, Večernje novosti. He was praised by h's first editor, Kadira Bajec. At 17, he published regularly and notably in Omladinske novine, the best youth paper in SFRY. He was lucky, he says, that the editors he studied with were the beacons of Yugos av journalism: Sergije Lukač, Jug Grizelj, Jovan Šćekić, Jovan Hadži-Kostić, Nikola Vitorović, Grujica Spasović... And they praised him. When not at his typewriter in the summer, he went to the improvised studios of voluntary youth construction actions, to do announcements, play music, teach youth the secrets of journalism... Thus earning to study journalism himself. It took him just 2.5 years out of four to graduate. Journalism was not enough, he went to Prague to specialise in documentary and film directing. At the time, he said: "I set the pace for myself, I worked, I loved and I studied everything else seemed silly."

In 1985 he signed his first professional contract for Radio Sarajevo, and during that same year he became the youngest editor and the editor of the BiH Radio Joint Programme. This included editing and coordinating programmes for 52 local radios; he also edited a joint news and current affairs programme entitled Susret na talasu. Together with his colleague Boro Kontić, he launched and edited for two years the youth programme, Omladinski program, the largest media project in Yugoslavia, with daily audiences reaching a record-high of 800,000 youth "from the River Vardar to Mt. Trig av". From 1988 until the first bombs, together with Aleksandar Pavlović he edited Pet do dvanaest (5 to 12) at Radio TV Sarajevo, and in 1990 he launched, edited and hosted Face to Face, the first TV talk show in Yugoslavia. In 1991 he was appointed editor and anchor of Dnevnik, the TV Sarajevo central news and current affairs programme: the youngest person to hold this appointment in the country.

Biografska skica s prilogom NARODNI TV GLASNOGOVORNIK S OBRAZOM

Prebirah smjerno po sjećanju i duši pa zaključih: decenijama već ne upoznah čovjeka, bez obzira na profesiju, koji tako svjetlosno brzo i sapatnički odano prvi uoči i osjeti društvene nepravde s posljedicama opštenarodne nesreće, kao Senad Hadžifejzović. Ne poznajem čovjeka toliko sklonog i hrabrog da pred zle udare prvo isturi sebe pa potom sa tv ekrana, svetije od glasnogovornika sa oltara ili munara, svejedno, krene u obračun i zaštitu nevinih potpuno svjestan rizika i posljedica. Po tome je njegov Centralni dnevnik (CD) Face TV posljednja kota s koje se, bez razlike na naciju i vjeru, brani "mali" čovjek izdan od onih koje je demokratski ustoličio na pijadestal vlasti, svemoći i srama. Sorti protiv koje se bori nepodoban je, što svjesno prihvata i plaća; za bosanskohercegovačke i planetarno satelitski podarene tv gledaoce on je najvjerniji tumač njihovih patnji, nada i želja. Zato je u programu koji kreira interesantniji i važniji od programa bez obzira iz koje sfere društvenog života, kojih političkih ubjeđenja i obrazovnog dometa bio gost u studiju dok pred ekranom bdije znatiželjnik neraspamećenog uma i srca iz kategorije koja se precizno definiše: "normalan televizijski gledalac". Jer, makoliko god dobronamjerno razložne i vizionarski mudre bile misli i poruke koje emituje, njegovo fizičko prisustvo čini ih uvjerljivijim, moćnijim.

Otud, s podjednakim profesionalnim respektom i privatnom privrženošću nižem ovaj zapis o jedinstvenom medijskom magu koji je mali ekran unaprijedio u prvi bh i regionalni tv sinemaskop s bistrom dubinskom slikom i čovjekolikom porukom. Zbog čega je, po nezvaničnim, a ispravnim anketama gledalaca, postao najvoljeniji tv presenter na prostorima države pohranjene u uspomenu. O čemu je nepristrasno, javno svjedočio, još svjedoči od zakulisnih nakana prije više od četvrt stoljeća preko katilsko-pljačkaških zahvata na tijelu kolektivne i pojedinačnih žrtava u ratu do sumornog posthumlja u miru. Nad kojim, kao opomena i poziv opamećenju, stoji podignut njegov desni kažiprst; balkanska verzija Zolinog "J'accuse"! - "Optužujem. I makoliko god je čast i sreća Senada Hadžifejzovića da je jedan i jedinstven, toliko je nesreća za BiH, regiju i tamo gdje nas je doteklo, da nije masovna medijska i ljudska pojava. Ne postoji škola iz čijih klupa izrastaju Senadi H, to ili je čovjek sam po sebi, ili se nikad ne nauči. Svaka biografija mu je tijesna, iz CD u CD je obogaćuje ali, iz poštovanja prema radoznalom narodu gledalaca - čitalaca, evo jedne od mogućih, autentičnih.

Talenat za pisanje prvi je uočio profesor Marković. Umjesto u "Male novine", gdje su se stidljivo javljali njegovi vršnjaci, poletarci iz literarnih sekcija, poslao je tekst učenika S.H. redakciji velikih, "Borbe", jedne od najuglednijih na Yu prostorima. Tekst 12-godišnjeg autora je objavljen. S preporukom "Borbe", a sa 14 godina otvorio je stranice još jednih iz kluba velikih, "Večernjih novosti". Hvalila ga prva urednica, Kadira Bajec. Sa 17 godina redovno i zapaženo javljao se u "Omladinskim novinama", ponajboljim za mladi uzrast u SFRJ. Posrećilo mu se, reći će, da su mu za uredničkim katedrama bila prva imena Yu novinarstva: Sergije Lukač, Jug Grizelj, Jovan Šćekić, Jovan Hadži-Kostić, Nikola Vitorović, Grujica Spasović... I oni ga hvalili. Kad ljeti nije za pisaćom mašinom, onda je u imrpoviziranim studijima ORA i SORA (Omladinske i Savezne radne akcije). Radi na razglasu, vrti ploče, mladim otkriva tajne novinarstva... U kojem je namicao sredstva da studira novinarstvo. Bile su mu dovoljne 2,5 godine da diplomira. Malo mu novinarstvo, specijalizirao je dokumentarnu i filmsku režiju u Pragu. To vrijeme će formulisati: "Zadao sam sebi tempo, radio, ljubio i studirao, sve drugo bilo mi glupo".

Prvi profesionalni ugovor je potpisao 1985. sa Radio Sarajevom u kojem je iste godine postao najmlađi urednik i urednik Zajedničkog programa lokalnih radio stanica BiH. Što je podrazumijevalo uređivanje i koordiniranje programa 52 lokalne, a uređivao je i zajedničku informativnu emisiju "Susret na talasu". Dvije godine potom s kolegom Borom Kontićem pokrenuo je i uređivao Omladinski program, najveći medijski projekat u Jugoslaviji koji je dnevno pratilo rekordnih 800.000 mladih "od Vardara pa do Triglava". Od 1988. do granata sa Aleksandrom Pavlovićem uređuje i vodi emisiju "Pet do dvanaest" RTSA, a 1990. godine je pokrenuo, uređivao i vodio Face to Face, (Licem u lice) prvi televizijski talk-show u Jugoslaviji. 1991. imenovan je za urednika i voditelja Dnevnika, centralne informativne emisije Televizije Sarajevo; najmlađi na toj funkciji u državi. Istovremeno je i šef DESK-a, reporter, specijalni izvještač sa ključnih političkih događaja u zemlji (sastanci predsjednika jugoslavenskih republika). Njegovi Dnevnici su bili kombinacija sve glasnijih seizmografa i sve tiših kardiograma države na umoru.

At the same time, he was the head of the news desk, reporter, special rapporteur from key political events in the country (meetings of presidents of Yugoslav republics). His news programmes were a combination of ever louder seismographs and ever quieter cardiograms of a dying state. From 1996 until 1998 he edited and hosted a remake of the Face to Face talk show, and in 1998 he was appointed editor-in-chief and general manager of TVBiH. In the Mareco Index Bosnia polls, in the period 1998–2000, TV BiH had by far the highest ratings in the country. Millions of inherited debts were also paid off during this period.

At the turn of the millenn um, the politically servile RTVBiH management removed him from office, with an explanation that this was "at his personal request". He never submitted such a request. In silence and with no explanation, he was also removed from the post of news and current affairs editor. In 2002, he published War: Live on Air, both in English and in Bosnian. The book is a compilation of interviews the author conducted on live TV with key figures of the 1992-1995 wa4r in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2003 he was appointed editor of culture and arts programmes of the Public Broadcasting Service. During that same year, in collaboration with the Hayat Independent TV, he continued his news and current affairs project through Centralni dnevnik sa Senadom Hadžifejzovićem (Central News with Senad Hadžifejzović). CD became the top-rated news and current affairs programme in the country.

His journalistic work has brought him a host of enviable awards: TV Personality of the Year, Best Journalist in BiH, Best TV Programme Author, Best Non-fiction Book in BiH for War: Live on Air, Liberation Day Memorial Award of the City of Sarajevo, Humanist of the year – Linus Pauling Award Liberation Day Memorial Award of the City of Sarajevo, Humanist of the year – Linus Pauling Award by the International League of Humanists, etc. If you were to ask him to name his favourite, I guess he'd say: "When an unnamed viewer calls me after a news programme and says: Way to go, Senad, those thieves had it coming and you sure told them!" In terms of this kind of awards, he is definitely at the top of Mt Olympus of BiH media...

...Following all the important jobs he completed in his own and in other people's lives, in other people's radio and TV stations and newspapers, in January 2012 he founded Face TV, with a capital investment of his own knowledge and face, and with a mission to resist the owners of state offices with miniature political wisdom and gigantic cunning and greed. Many have stopped before him, all have been worried, but few understood where he was going. The indifferent and the corrupt remained calm and obedient. He did not, because he felt. May fate or God, whoever is responsible, save us from those who walk through life indifferent to things and events. A human being wants to feel and must feel. To be irritated by things, or to feel happy about them, is the proof of our observance, our experience – our life. To go through this miracle called life is an unforgivable sin? People embraced Senad because he noticed; he understood the cry of an unknown Bosnian man in the next front yard or in the next town, who sacrificed himself for his country in the war, who stood firm between it and those who were willing to sacrifice both the country and its people for their own personal gain. With his refined sense of justice and truth, he grew into a free pioneer of media testimony and satire with no intention to silence, but rather to explain and assure. In that, in this country, the beating of the last 20 years of the 20th century and the beginning of this one has been the public beating of his own heart...

The best and the most faithful words about Senad H. have come and continue to come from his viewers. Some day, tomorrow or in a few decades, a competent and honest observer may be testifying about him and will not describe him as the most honourable media personality in BiH in a moment of filthy eternity; Senad is the beautiful eternity of that moment. So, for the end, allow me to be personal. This author, twice a victim of fascism, has been lingering far away from his cradle for the past twenty-five years, like a stateless expellee. And it is the country that Senad Hadžifejzović continues to build with bright dreams, desires and words – and only that Bosnia and Herzegovina – that I would someday like to settle for eternity.

Mišo Marić Exeter, UK In the cold part of 2017 Od 1996. do 1998. godine je uredivao i vodio remake talk-showa Face to Face, a 1998. godine imenovan je za glavnog i odgovornog urednika i direktora TVBiH. U istraživanjima javnosti agencije "Mareco Index Bosnia", TVBiH je od 1998-2000. imala neuporedivo najveću gledanost. U istom periodu otplaćeni su naslijedeni, milionski dugovi.

Pred novi milenij, podaničko rukovodstvo RTV BiH smijenilo ga je sa dužnosti glavnog urednika i direktora TVBiH uz obrazloženje da to čine "na zahtjev Senada Hadžifejzovića". Taj zahtijev on nije podnio. Prešutno, bez obrazloženja, smijenjen je i sa mjesta urednika Dnevnika. 2002. objavio knjigu "Rat uživo" – "War: live on air" na bosanskom i engleskom. Knjiga je kompilacija razgovora koje je autor vodio u programu uživo sa ključnim akterima rata u Bosni i Hercegovini 1992–1995.

Godine 2003. imenovan je za urednika Kulturno-umjetničkog programa PBS-a (Public Broadcasting Service). Iste godine, u saradnji sa Neovisnom Televizijom HAYAT, nastavio je s TV Dnevnikom-projektom "Centralni dnevnik sa Senadom Hadžifejzovićem". CD je postao najgledanija bh informativna emisija.

Za novinarski angažman skupio je kolekciju zavidnih priznanja: "TV ličnost godine", "Najbolji novinar u BiH", "Autor najbolje TV emisije", "Najbolja knjiga u oblasti publicistike u BiH" – "Rat uživo", "Šestoaprilska nagrada grada Sarajeva", "Humanista godine" – Plaketa "Linus Pauling" Internacionalne lige humanista, itd. i tako ljepše. Ako bi njega pitali da izdvoji najdražu, pretpostavljam da bi odgovorio: "Kad me nakon Dnevnika nazove nepoznat gledalac i kaže: E, neka si lopovima izgovorio, svaka ti čast, Senade"! Po broju takvih nagrada nedostižno je ustoličen na bh medijskom Olimpu...

...Pošto je obavio sijaset važnih poslova u svom i tudim životima, tudim novinama, radiju i televizijama, januara 2012. osnovao je Face TV. S kapitalnim ulogom sopstvenog znanja i obraza, a s misijom otpora vlasnicima državnih funkcija patuljaste političke pameti, a džinovske podlosti i pohlepe. Pred kojim su mnogi ustuknuli, svi zabrinuli, a samo rijetki shvatili gdje sve ide. Ravnodušni i potkupljeni su ostali spokojni, poslušni i indiferentni. On nije, jer je osjećao. Neka nas udes ili Bog, ko je već zadužen, sačuva od ljudi koji prolaze kroz život indiferentni na stvari i pojave. Čovjek želi, mora osjećati. Biti iritirani stvarima, ili srećni s njima je dokaz da primjećujemo, doživljavamo, znači živimo. Neoprostiv je grijeh proći kroz ovo čudo življenja ne primjećujući? Narod je prigrlio tog Senada koji je primijetio; čuo, shvatio lelek neznana bh čovjeka u susjednoj avliji il susjednoj čaršiji koji se u ratu žrtvovao za svoju zemlju, i isprsio se između njega i onih koji su tu zemlju i narod žrtvovali za ličnu karijeru i šićar. Pa je s prefinjenim osjećajem za pravdu i istinu izrastao u slobodnog prvoborca medijskog svjedočenja i satire bez nakane da ućutka, nego pojasni, uvjeri. Po tome su otkucaji posljednjih godina 20-og i s početka ovog stoljeća do danas u BiH, javni otkucaji njegovog vlastitog srca...

Najvjerniji i ponajbolji zapis o Senadu H. ispisali su i marljivo dopisuju gledaoci. Kad jednom prekosutra i preko desetljeća mjerodavan i pošten neko, s distance, bude svjedočio o njemu, neće ga karakterisati najčasnijom bh medijskom ličnosti u trenutku pogane vječnosti, Senad je iznimno lijepa vječnost toga trenutka. I za kraj, neka mi je dozvoljeno biti ličan. Ovaj autor, dvaput žrtva fašizma, skoro četvrt vijeka tavori daleko od kolijevke apadtridski, prognanički. A u državi koju zida od vedrih snova, želja i riječi Senad Hadžifejzović; samo u njegovoj BiH volio bih utihnuti i vjekovati.

Mišo Marić Exeter, UK zima mi je 2017. His first newspaper article was published in 1974: Borba (Belgrade) published a text by the twelve-year-old Hadžife-jzović as the best newspaper text by a young author.

From 1978 until the war he had worked for: Borba (Belgrade), Večernje novosti (Belgrade), Omladinske novine (NON Belgrade), Radio Index 202 (Beograd), Radio Sarajevo 202, Večernje novine (Sarajevo), Naši Dani (Sarajevo), Walter (Sarajevo)... During this period, he had published hundreds of newspaper texts, articles, stories, commentaries... He had also worked as a reporter, host and editor for different stations.

From 1981 until 1984 he studied journalism at the Universities of Belgrade and Sarajevo. He graduated from the University of Sarajevo in 1984 as the youngest graduate from his school.

He signed his first professional contract for Radio Sarajevo in 1985 and became its youngest editor during that same year. Editor of the Joint Programme of BiH radio stations: edited and coordinated programmes by 52 local BiH stations, edited and hosted Susret na talasu, a joint news show.

In 1987, he started and edited Omladinski program (Youth Programme), the largest media project in Yugoslavia. He edited it together with Boro Kontic. Omladinski program had a daily audience of 800,000 youth across Yugoslavia.

The year after, he specialised in TV and documentary directing at FAMU (Film Academy) in Prague, Czechoslovakia, mentored by professor Hana Jemelikova.

From 1988 until 1992 he edited and hosted Pet do dvanaest (Five to twelve) for TV Sarajevo (together with Aleksandar Pavlović). His guests included the leading names of Yugoslav intellectual elite. This was the last programme by the joint JRT (Yugoslav Radio and TV).

In 1990 he started, edited and hosted HadžiFace to Face, the first TV talk show in Yugoslavia. It was aired live, promoting direct debates with the viewers on current issues. It was a pioneering experience for the author and the public – viewers coming live in the programme with no previous identity check.

In 1990 he was appointed editor and host of Dnevnik, the central news and current affairs programme at TV Sarajevo. He was the youngest Dnevnik editor in Yugoslavia. He was also the head of DESK, reporter, special rapporteur from key political events in the country (meetings of Yugoslav republics' presidents etc.).

In 1993 he was one of the founders and the first editor-in-chief of Radio Stari Grad Sarajevo.

From 1993 until 1996 he was a correspondent for RFI (Radio France International).

From 1996 until 1998 he edited and hosted a remake talk show Face to Face.

In 1996 he was appointed editor-in-chief of the TVBiH News and Information Programmes.

In 1998 he was appointed editor-in-chief and general manager of TVBiH. In market research conducted by Mareco Index Bosnia, in the period 1998-2000 TVBiH maintained top ratings in the country. During the same period, the (inherited) debts amounting to millions were paid off, various sports and exclusive programmes were bought for the next four years, devastated studios were refurbished, equipment was modernised and own programme production revived.

Njegov prvi tekst objavljen je u novinama 1974. godine, beogradska Borba objavila je tekst 12-ogodišnjeg Hadžifejzovića kao najbolji novinarski rad mladog autora.

Od 1978. do rata radio je za: Borbu (Beograd), Večernje Novosti (Beograd), Omladinske novine (NON Beograd), Radio Index 202 (Beograd), Radio Sarajevo 202, Večernje novine (Sarajevo), Naši Dani (Sarajevo), Walter (Sarajevo)... U ovom periodu u novinama objavio stotine tekstova, članaka, reportaža, komentara... Na radio stanicama bio reporter, voditelj, urednik.

Od 1981. do 1984. studirao žurnalistiku na Fakultetima političkih nauka u Beogradu i Sarajevu. Diplomirao u Sarajevu 1984. i bio najmladi diplomac na fakultetu.

Prvi profesionalni ugovor potpisao 1985. za Radio Sarajevo i iste godine postao najmlađi urednik Radio Sarajeva. Urednik Zajedničkog programa radio stanica Bosne i Hercegovine. Uređivao i koordinirao program 52 lokalne stanice u BiH, uređivao i vodio zajedničku informativnu emisiju "Susret na talasu".

1987. pokrenuo i uređivao Omladinski program, najveći medijski projekat u Jugoslaviji. Projekat uređivao sa Borom Kontićem. Omladinski program dnevno je slušalo 800.000 mladih u cijeloj Jugoslaviji.

Naredne godine specijalizirao televizijsku i dokumentarnu režiju na FAML akademiji (Filmska akademija) u Pragu (Čehoslovačka), mentor, profesorica Hana Jemelikova.

Od 1988. do 1992. uređivao i vodio emisiju "Pet do dvanaest" na Televiziji Sarajevo (sa Aleksandrom Pavlovićem). Gosti emisije bila su najznačajnija imena jugoslovenske inteligencije. Ova emisija je ostala posljednja emisija zajedničke JRT.

1990. godine pokrenuo, uređivao i vodio "HadžiFace to Face", prvi televizijski talk-show u Jugoslaviji. Emitiran je uživo, favorizirajući direktnu raspravu sa gledaocima o aktuelnim temama. Bilo je to pionirsko iskustvo i za autora i za javnost- uključivanje gledalaca u program uživo bez prethodne provjere njihovog identiteta.

1990. godine imenovan za urednika i voditelja Dnevnika, centralne informativne emisije Televizije Sarajevo. Najmlađi urednik Dnevnika u Jugoslaviji. Istovremeno radio i kao šef DESK-a, reporter, specijalni izvještač sa ključnih političkih događaja u zemlji (sastanci predsjednika jugoslovenskih republika)...

1993. jedan od osnivača i prvi Glavni i odgovorni urednik Radija Stari Grad Sarajevo.

Od 1993. do 1996. dopisnik RFI-ija (Radio France International).

Od 1996. do 1998. uređivao i vodio remake talk-showa Face to Face.

1996. godine imenovan za Glavnog urednika Informativnog programa TVBiH.

1998. imenovan za Glavnog i odgovornog urednika i Direktora Televizije Bosne i Hercegovine. U istraživanjima javnosti koje je provela agencija Mareco Index Bosnia, TVBiH je u periodu 1998-2000. imala ubjedljivo najveću gledanost. U istom periodu otplaćeni su (naslijedeni) milionski dugovi TVBiH, kupljen sportski i eksluzivni program za naredne četiri godine, obnovljeni porušeni studiji, modernizovana tehnika i domaći program.

In 2000, the new interim management of RTV Bill decided, under political instructions, to remove Hadžifejzović from the position of editor-in-chief and general manager of TVBill, with a paradoxical explanation that it was done "following Hadžifejzović's own request". He was removed as editor of the news and current affairs programme with no additional explanation. He was out of work.

In 2002 he published War: Live on Air in Bosnian and English (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga). The book is a compilation of interviews by the author in live programmes, with key stakeholders during the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The book was awarded as 2003 Book of the Year.

In 2003 he was appointed (temporarily) editor of Special Projects for the PBS (Public Broadcasting Service). The appointment was an apology and an attempt by the new RTV BiH management to settle the issue of Hadžifejzović's re-

moval by the previous management in 2000.

He has received the following prizes and awards:

1991 TV Personality of the Year

1993 Best Journalist in BiH - BiH Journalists' Alliance

1996 Best TV Programme in BiH - Face to Face

1997 Best TV Programme in BiH - Face to Face

1999 Best TV of the Year - BiH Journalists' Alliance

2003 Book of the Year - non-fiction: War: Live on Air - BiH Publishers' Association

2004 Sliver Plague of the Town of Srebrenica

2005 Liberation Day Award (6 April), the highest recognition of the City of Sarajevo

2005 Humanist of the Year - award by the International League of Humanists, the Linus Pauling Award

2010 Manager of the Year - best media manager in the region

2014 Best BiH journalist - Association of BiH Journalists

2014 Media TV service of Europe - Face TV - BiH European Movement

2015 Top Manager of Southeast Europe - Life Achievement Award

2016 2 May award of the Sarajevo Canton

2017 Courage Award - BiH Academy USA, Washington, D.C.

2017 Special Mention - Top Manager of Southeast Europe

In 2003, following this "satisfaction", in co laboration with TV Hayat, he continued his news and current affairs project: Centralni dnevnik sa Senadom Hadžifejzovičem. CD was the top-ratings news programme in BiH, the longest-lasting TV news programme by a single author in the region. In 27 years, from 1990 until 2017, nearly 2,600 shows were aired live.

In 2009 he started FACE TV, the first HD TV in the region, initially airing in a time-slot rented from TV1, starting from 2010.

On 15 January 2012, FACE TV launched via its own channel frequency, through the ETELSAT cable operator, with its own IP platform. The FACE concept is free, direct, independent investigative journalisms, live programmes, national and regional production, new TV faces:

FACEs of TV at the new FACE TV.

His entire professional career has been on live TV.

2000. godine, novo privremeno rukovodstvo RTV BiH, pod političkim diktatom, donijelo odluku da Hadžifejzovića smijeni sa dužnosti Glavnog urednika i Direktora TVBiH uz paradoksalno obrazloženje da je to učinjeno "na zahtjev Senada Hadžifejzovića". Prešutno, bez obrazloženja, smijenjen i sa mjesta urednika Dnevnika. Ostao bez posla, bez ikakvog angažmana.

2002. objavio knjigu Rat uživo - War: live on air, na bosanskom i engleskom (Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana) Knjiga je kompilacija razgovora koje je autor vodio u programu uživo sa ključnim akterima rata u Bosni i Hercegovini (od '92. do '95.). Knjiga proglašena "Knjigom godine u BiH" 2003. godine.

2003. privremeno imenovan za urednika Specijalnih projekata PBS-a (Public Broadcasting Service). Imenovanje je bilo izvinjenje i pokušaj nagodbe novog rukovodstva RTVBiH za smjenu Hadžifejzovića koju je obavilo bivše rukovodstvo televizije 2000. godine.

2003. nakon takve "satisfakcije", u saradnji sa TV Hayat, nastavio projekat Dnevnika – "Centralni dnevnik sa Senadom Hadžifejzovićem". CD je najgledanija informativna emisija u BiH, najdugotrajniji TV Dnevnik jednog urednika-autora u historiji regiona. Od 1990-2017, u 27 godina, uživo emitovano blizu 2.600 CD-a.

2009. osnovao FACE tv, prvu HD televiziju u regionu, koja je prvobitno program emitovala u iznajmljenom terminu na TV1 od 2010. godine.

2012. 15. januara FACE počeo emitovanje svog programa na svom kanalu, frekfenciji, preko kabl operatera, EUTELSAT-a, IP platformi. Koncept FACE-a je slobodno, direktno, nezavisno, istraživačko novinarstvo, program uživo, domaća i regionalna produkcija, nova tv lica:

FACE tv nove tv FACE.

Cijeli profesionalni život radi isključivo u programu uživo.

Dobio je priznanja:

1991. TV ličnost godine

1993. Najbolji novinar u Bosni i Hercegovini-Savez novinara BH

1996. Najbolja TV emisija u Bosni i Hercegovini - "Face to face"

1997. Najbolja TV emisija u Bosni i Hercegovini - "Face to face"

1999. Najbolja TV godine u BiH - TV BiH-Savez novinara BH

2003. Nabolja knjiga- publicistika u BiH - "Rat uživo" Udruženje izdavača BH

2004. Srebrena plaketa grada Srebrenice

2005. Najveće društveno priznanje - Šestoaprilska nagrada Grada Sarajeva

2005. Nagrada Internacionalne lige humanista – "Humanista godine" plaketa Linus Pauling

2010. Najbolji medijski menadžer "Menadžer godine" regiona

2014. Najbolji novinar u BiH - Društvo novinara BH

2014. Nagrada "Medijski tv servis Evrope-Face tv"- Evropski pokret BH

2015. Nagrada za životno djelo "Direkcija "Najmenadžer jugoistočne Evrope"

2016. Plaketa Kantona Sarajevo "2. maj"

2017. Nagrada za hrabrost "BH Akademija USA", Washington

2017. Specijalno priznanje "Direkcija "Najmenadžer jugoistočne Evrope"

CHILDREN OF SREBRENICA IN WAR LIVE ON AIR...

No one would have ever known what I had intended with this book nor what had motivated me to write it, had it not been for my professional and human need to check every single bit of information, including the one I knew to be one hundred per cent true, since I had witnessed it.

Namely, in the year 2000, when I lost my job at TVBiH, I decided to write this book. There was time, but there was no money. I thought I'd manage, since I had the motivation and the reason for writing it: the children of Srebrenica... I had already known fourteen children wno had lost both parents in Srebrenica and I was helping them as much as I could – money from journalistic prizes, bits from my salary and fees. I helped as much as I could and I kept silent: there is no better spiritual sensation, no one knows except for you, the children and those who care for them. Just give and remain silent. Perhaps the children did not know, they were so little just after the war – three, five, six, they had moved in with their aunts, grandmothers, rarely with grandfathers, since there were almost no men eft alive in their families. Those children were my driving force, my motivation to write this book, the idea to give them all the money I could earn from it, to open savings accounts for them, to help their education without the public knowing about it. It was a need deep inside me, something I just had to do.

When I started writing, I simply had to check every single bit of information – a journalistic need – so I asked two wonderful, courageous ladies from the Women of Sreorenica association, Hajra Ćatić and Nura Begović, to check with other associations, social services, children's homes and schools if there were perhaps more children who had lost both parents in Srebrenica that I didn't know about, perhaps there were more... IF there were any, they were living in the Tuzla and Sarajevo cantons, that's where they had settled.

And then, a shock: assisted by the hard working social workers from Tuz.a, teachers, members of different associations, they were able to put together a list of as many as 527 children who had lost both parents in Srebrenica!

No one had ever put together a list like that, no one had even thought about it or kept records of how many mothers had died in Srebrenica, how many children had been left behind - we only knew (somewhat) about the numbers related to men.

And now what? How can they all go to school? Money from the book would not suffice... Hajra and Nura checked and soon found out that out of 527 children only about one hundred were still at school. Others had finished primary and secondary school, mainly vocational and similar schools, and did not continue, as they couldn't afford to. Some had left the country.

Again, the money from the book would not be sufficient to fund the education of the remaining children. So we decided to set up the Children of Srebrenica Foundation for education of children who had lost both parents, to present this to the public, and to make sure that whatever money was to come from the book would go to the Foundation, to use the book launch to promote the Foundation, hoping that individuals, organisations and associations would follow our example and pay for the education of these children...

But what about my wish to ensure that no one knows about the secret link between me and the children? The desire was great, but so were the money and the number of children. We had to set up the Foundation, present it to the public, publish the bank account numbers, hoping that people would pay. Surprise: there were people willing to help and pay, but also not wanting this information to be public. There were other surprises: some people wanted to choose the child to support. We did not allow this kind of auction, to choose a child more likeable, more sad, younger or older. Those who wanted to had to pay into the account, for the Foundation, for all the children.

DJECA SREBRENICE U RATU UŽIVO...

Nikada niko ne bi saznao šta sam bio naumio, nanijetio s ovom knjigom, niti šta mi je bio motiv da je uopšte napišem, da nije bilo moje ljudske i novinarske potrebe, moranja: moram da provjerim svaku informaciju pa čak i onu za koju sam sto posto siguran da je tačna, kojoj sam sam svjedok. Naime, odlučio sam da napišem ovu knjigu 2000te godine, kada sam ostao bez posla na TVBiH. Imam vremena ali nemam para. Snaći ću se nekako, bitnije je da imam motiv zašto, za koga, zbog koga je pišem: djeca Srebrenice... već sam znao četrnaestoro male djece koja su u ratu u Srebrenici ostala bez oba roditelja i pomagao sam im koliko sam mogao-doturao sve pare od novinarskih nagrada, vadio nešto od plate i honorara. Pomagao koliko sam mogao i šutio; nema ljepšeg duhovnog osjećaja od tog, niko ne zna osim tebe, djece i onih koji se staraju o njima. Daj i šuti. Djeca možda i ne znaju, bila su mala, tek nakon rata – od tri do pet, šest godina, živjela su sa tetkama, nanama, tek poneko sa djedom, preživjelih muškaraca u njihovim porodicama nije bilo. Ta djeca su mi bila pokretački motiv da počnem da pišem ovu knjigu, zamisao da novac, prihod od ove knjige poklonim njima, da im otvorim štedne knjižice i uplaćujem, da ih pomognem u školovanju i da javnost za to ne zna. Nešto moje, neki duboki nijet, želja, potreba.

Kada sam počeo pisati, pojavila se ta moja potreba, znatiželja, moranje da moram da provjerim svaku informaciju, pa sam zamolio dvije divne, velike i hrabre gospode iz udruženja "Žene Srebrenice", Hajru Ćatić i Nuru Begović da provjere u udruženjima, socijalnim službama, domovima za djecu i školama, da li možda ima još neko dijete koje je u ratu ostalo bez oba roditelja u Srebrenici, možda to ne znam, možda ima još neko... ako ih ima, ta djeca žive u kantonima Tuzla i Sarajevo, tu su isključivo.

l onda šok: njih dvije uz pomoć vrijednih socijalnih radnica iz Tuzle, nastavnica, članica udruženja, saznaju i prave spisak od čak 527 djece koja su u ratu u Srebrenici ostala bez oba roditelja! Nikada niko nije napravio taj spisak, niko o tome nije razmišljao, niko nije vodio evidenciju koliko žena, majki je poginulo, umrlo u Srebrenici, koliko djece je ostalo iza njih, znali smo samo (donekle) brojeve i dimenzije tragedije muškaraca.

Šta sada? Kako školovati toliku djecu? Novac od knjige nije dovoljan... Gospođe Hajra i Nura provjeravaju i ubrzo saznaju da je u procesu školovanja od 527 djece ostalo njih stotinjak. Ostala djeca su završila uglavnom osnovnu i srednje zanatske, trogodišnje škole i nisu nastavila daljnje školovanje, nisu ni mogla. Neka su otišla van zemlje.

Opet, novac od knjige neće biti dovoljan za školovanje ni ove djece. Tada odlučujemo, nas troje, da formiramo Fondaciju "Djeca Srebrenice" za školovanje djece bez oba roditelja, da s tom informacijom izađemo u javnost i da novac od knjige, koliko god ga bude, bude uplaćen na račun fondacije, a da promocija knjige bude promocija fondacije, valjda će ljudi, organizacije i udruženja, slijediti naš primjer i uplaćivati djeci novac za školovanje...

No, šta je sa mojom željom da niko ne sazna tajnu između mene i djece? Velika želja, veliki je i novac, ali i veliki broj djece. Morali smo formirati fondaciju, izaći u javnost i objaviti račune, pa ko želi neka uplati. l, gle čuda: ima ljudi koji žele da pomognu djeci, a da se ne sazna javno da su poklonili novac. Bilo je i drugih čuda, neki ljudi su htjeli da biraju koje će dijete školovati. To nismo dozvolili, tu licitaciju koje dijete je simpatičnije, mlađe, tužnije. Ko je želio, taj je morao uplatiti isključivo na račun fondacije svoj djeci.

Starting from 11 May 2004, on the eleventh day of every month, without delay, money was paid from that account into the children's individual account.

BAM 100 for primary school students, 150 for secondary school ones, and 250 for university students.

Respecting the symbolism of the eleventh day of the month, like the fateful 11 July 1995...

Until November 2017 as many as 4,824 stipends were paid.

The total amount of stipends paid is BAM 1,045,990.

One million, forty five thousand, nine hundred ninety convertible marks.

In November 2017, the total balance in the account was BAM 111,807.

So, what is it that makes the Children of Srebrenica Foundat'on unique? The fact that not a single mark ever went from the Foundation account to pay for any kind of cost other than the education of these children. Everything else - travel cost, flyers, billboards, telephone bills, fuel - ali has been paid fully or partly by Bosnians in diaspora, where the book and the Foundation were promoted more than in the country. The Women of Srebrenica Association covered the accounting cost and the annual reports. This is thus the only foundation in the country that has not paid a single mark in fees or other costs in the entire period of 14 years of work. The first and most important rule of the Foundation is: no one has the right, not even the founder, to handle a single mark from the Foundation in casn! Whoever wants to help and support the Foundation has to go to the

bank and make a payment into its account. This is now it has been and this is how it has to be. Our youngest beneficiary, symbol of the Foundation, Dila Tabaković, was born in the chaos of the month of July 1995 was the first and the last recipient of the stipend. Last year she completed her education and it was logical for the Children of Srebrenica Foundation to close, but... there was money in the account, and some of the children born after the war returned to Srebrenica and the surrounding areas with their parents. Now and in the future, for as long as there is any money in our account, we will support the education of children who returned to the place of genocide. We currently provide support for twelve returnee children with regular monthly stipends.

All our beneficiaries, children who had lost both parents, have undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, they are doctors, pharmacists, lawyers, economists, criminalists... I am very proud of them. They are successful in what they do, some of them superb. All of them stayed here, in their country – only one girl, a young woman now, had to move abroad, all others are here.

I had little contact with our beneficiaries after the first four years of stipend provision. They knew the rule: for as long as they worked hard, did not have to repeat years, for as long as they wanted to go to school – there would be a stipend. That was enough for them to be independent, to be brave, to be motivated and confident, and very soon, the shy children who had lived in orphanages, children's villages and with relatives, became serious boys and girls, articulate and eloquent, excellent students. I did the same thing I did with my own children: here is support to start, here is advice and a bit of help, now you take the initiative and the responsibility – your job is to study. That is how I was brought up, without being spoiled and with a single piece of advice: learn.

The entire sponsorship budget for the second edition of War: Live on Air will go to the Foundation during the sales, directly, and this will be enough for the returnee children to complete their education and for the Children of Srebrenica Foundation to close. The sales revenues will go to FACE TV, to pay the young journalists whom we employ and train. There are children from Srebrenica among them too...

Po čemu je Fondacija "Djeca Srebrenice" specifična, jedinstvena? Po tome što nijedna jedina marka sa računa Fondacije nije otišla ni na kakve troškove, ni za šta drugo osim direktno za školovanje djece. Sve ostalo-putne troškove, letke, bilborde, telefonske račune, auto gorivo-sve je plaćeno iz sopstvenog džepa ili su djelimično finansirali Bo sanci u dijaspori gdje su se knjiga i fondacija najviše promovisale. Troškove računovodstva, završnih obračuna plaćalo je Udruženje "Žene Srebrenice". Dakle, to je jedina fondacija u državi koja za gotovo 14 godina nije platila nijednu marku troška, honorara.

Prvo, osnovno pravilo Fondacije je: niko nema pravo, pa ni osnivač Fondacije da u ruke, "na ruke" uzme nijednu marku za Fondaciju! Svako ko želi da pomogne školovanje

Od 11. maja 2004. godine do dan danas, svakog 11tog dana u svakom mjesecu, bez ijednog zastoja, sa jedinstvenog računa uplaćivan je novac djeci za školovanje, svakom djetetu na njegov račun.

100 KM za osnovce, 150 za srednjoškolce i 250 za studente.

Simbolični 11ti dan u mjesecu, kao onaj 11. juli 1995. godine...

Do novembra 2017. godine uplaćene su čak 4.824 stipendije.

Ukupan iznos uplaćenih stipendija je 1.045.990 KM.

Jedan milion, četrdesetpet hiljada i devetsto devedeset maraka.

Na računima Fondacije do novembra je bilo 111.807 KM.

djece mora da ode u banku i uplati novac direktno na račun fondacije. Tako je moralo da bude i tako je i bilo. Naš najmlađi stipendista, simbol Fondacije, Dila Tabaković, rođena u julskom haosu 1995. godine, prvi je i posljednji stipendista naše fondacije. Ona je prošle godine okončala svoje školovanje i bilo je logično da se Fondacija "Djece Srebrenice" zatvori, ali... Novca je ostalo na računima, a nešto djece rođene poslije rata vratilo se sa roditeljima u Podrinje, u Srebrenicu i okolicu. Sada i ubuduće, dok bude novca na računima, školovat ćemo tu djecu-povratnike na mjesto genocida. Trenutno školujemo dvadesetoro djece povratnika u redovnim mjesečnim stipendijama. Svi naši stipendisti, djeca bez oba roditelja, su završila fakultete i postdiplomske studije, farmaceuti su, ljekari, pravnici, ekonomisti, kriminalisti... Ponosan sam na njih, uspješni su u svojim poslovima, neki vrhunski uspješni. Svi su ostali ovdje u svojoj zemlji, samo jedno dijete-danas djevojka, morala je otići vani, na zapad, opravdano, svi ostali su ostali ovdje.

Nisam sa našim stipendistima imao previše kontakata nakon prve četiri godine stipendiranja. Oni su znali pravilo: dok god uče, ne gube školske godine, dok god žele da se školuju-imaju novac, stipendiju. To im je bilo dovoljno da se osamostale, ohrabre, imaju motiv i sigurnost i vrlo brzo od sramežljive djece koja su živjela po domovima za nezbrinutu djecu, dječijim selima i kućama svoje rodbine, postali su ozbiljni momci i djevojke, vrlo komunikativni i odlični učenici i studenti. Uradio sam s njima kao i sa svojom djecom-evo podrške na početku, evo uputa i malo pomoći, sada ti preuzmi inicijativu i odgovornost-tvoje je samo da učiš. Tako sam i ja vaspitavan, bez mnogo maženja, sa samo jednim savjetom: uči.

Cjelokupni iznos sponzorstva ovog drugog izdanja knjige "Rat uživo" ići će u Fondaciju u toku prodaje knjige, odmah, direktno i to će biti dovoljno za završetak školovanja preostalih stipendista-povratnika i zatvaranje Fondacije "Djeca Srebrenice". Ostali dio prihoda od prodaje knjige ići će u korist FACE tv, za plaće mladih novinara koje ujedno i školujemo i zapošljavamo na našoj televiziji. I među njima, našim uposlenicima, ima djece Srebrenice...

In all honesty, I didn't know much about publishing, about how to prepare a book and finance its printing. In the year 2000 I prepared my own financial set-up: a sponsor (for example) pays BAM 1,000 for the printing and as soon as we sell the book I, the author and the publisher, pay the amount of BAM 1,000 into the Foundation's account. Thus, the sponsor of the book becomes a sponsor for the Foundation. But there were no sponsors. Even worse, some promised to sponsor the book and were even listed in the book, but never paid a dime. So how could I finance the book at all?

Univerzal banka, a local bank, came to the rescue, through its manager, Alma Smailbegović. She approved a loan of BAM 50,000 and saved the project at the last minute. But this was not enough to pay the exorbitant amount of BAM 175,000 to print an encyclopaedia-size book with top-quality graphics! Franc Predan, manager of Mladinska knjiga Ljubljana helped and approved a discount, so we could print the book for BAM 135,000, and he also provided the best quality paper for the printing. I did not tell him and he would never reveal to me how he found out that proceeds from the book were intended for the children of Srebrenica. May he rest in peace, with my eternal gratitude for what he did. But even this was not enough: for the very first time in my life I borrowed money from friends and family, and finally, in April 2002, the book was out and launched.

Why didn't I find a publisher, why did I decide to publish myself. I consulted the best in the business. Esad Sejtarija, then the largest private publisher in the country, told me that any publisher would give me a mediocre fee, and that the publisher would incur considerable expenditure but would also earn quite a bit. I didn't want that. I didn't want a fee, I wanted no profit from the war, I profited from the fact that I survived, and my desire and my motivation was to help children go to school. I better struggle to find the money for the children, rather than to give my life's work, my only book, to a for-profit publisher. In order to confirm that I was right (again something I had to do, check and double-check) I asked a bookseller how this would work financially. He made a calculation; the realistic retail price would be at least BAM 200, and I decided to sell it for a symbolic price of BAM 50 (EUR 30 in Europe, USD 50 in the States), which was sufficient to cover the publication cost and then forward the remaining "profit" to the Foundation - provided we manage to sell the entire print run of 10,000. So, the bookseller would profit as much as one and a half million convertible marks! I complete the entire process, I bring the book and sell all the copies at once, for BAM 500,000, and then he would sell it for 2,000,000 and keep 1,500,000?! But, I told him, people would think that I was selling an expensive book although that was a realistic price! I don't care about the people, he said. Then I asked cautiously, although I guessed: how much of that would you give to the Foundation and the children? I don't care about the children, he said. Even worse, he cursed...

And so, after the book had been printed, I left my family, including my new-born son, and left on 4 May 2002 to promote the book and the Foundation across the world: 16 countries, some 250 cities, five years, sometimes on the road for forty days in one go... Not as much later on. We sold some 6,000 copies, gave about one thousand to our donors as gifts, some copies were stolen, some in the US say that they "rotted in as flooded garage", some 2,000 copies on total. A thousand copies are "missing", left in certain cities with people whom we trusted...

I have no regrets. I am happy, delighted, my wish has come true; it was hard and long. It is hard to gift a book to Bosnians, let alone sell it, even cheaply...

...

Iskreno, nisam imao pojma o izdavaštvu, o tome kako se pravi knjiga, kako se finansira njeno štampanje. Napravio sam te 2000te godine neku svoju finansijsku "šemu": sponzor (na primjer) uplati 1.000 KM za štampanje knjige i nakon prodaje knjige, tu 1.000 maraka, ja, autor i izdavač, uplatim na račun fondacije. Tako je sponzor sa jednim iznosem novca i sponzor knjige i donator fondacije. No, nije bilo sponzora i još gore neki koji su obećali sponzorstvo, pa čak u prvom izdanju knjige i navedeni kao sponzori, nikada nisu uplatili obećani iznos. Kako onda da uopšte finansiram štampanje knjige?

U pomoć pristiže "Univerzal banka", domaća banka i gospođa Alma Smailbegović, direktorica. Daje kredit od 50.000 KM i spašava projekat u zadnji čas. No, ni to nije dovoljno da se plati vrtoglavih 175.000 KM za štampanje luksuzne knjige koja ima format enciklopedije! Tada pomaže gospodin Franc Predan, direktor "Mladinske knjige" Ljubljana i daje popust, knjiga se može štampati za 135.000 KM i još daruje najbolji papir na svijetu za njeno štampanje. Ja mu nisam rekao, a on meni nije htio reći kako je saznao da će novac od knjige ići djeci iz Srebrenice. Pokoj mu duši i hvala. No, ni to nije dovoljno za štampanje: doslovce, prvi put u životu, posuđujem novac od prijatelja i prijateljica, od porodice i konačno u aprilu 2002. godine knjiga je na tržištu i promoviše se.

Zašto knjigu nisam dao nekom izdavaču, zašto sam ja i autor i izdavač? O tome sam se posavjetovao sa najboljim. Esad Sejtarija, tada najjači privatni izdavač u našoj zemlji, rekao je da ću kao autor od bilo kojeg izdavača dobiti samo neki osrednji honorar, da će izdavač na projektu "Rat uživo" imati velike troškove, ali i zaraditi ogroman novac. Nisam to htio. Nisam htio za sebe nikakav honorar, neću od rata nikakav profit, profitirao sam što sam preživio, a imam i nijet i motiv da školujem djecu. Bolje da se namučim i skupim novac za djecu nego li da ipak moje životno djelo,jedinu moju knjigu, poklonim kao profit nekom izdavaču. Da bih potvrdio (opet to moje moranje da moram) da sam u pravu, pitao sam ipak jednog izdavača-trgovca knjigama kako bi to "išlo" finansijski. Napravio je ovu računicu: realna cijena knjige u prodaji u knjižarama će biti 200 KM, a ja sam odlučio da je prodajem po simboličnoj cijeni od samo 50 KM (u Evropi 30 eura, u Americi 50 dolara), što je bilo dovoljno da se pokriju troškovi izdavanja i da se Fondaciji uplati sav "profit", ako uopšte uspijemo prodati svih 10.000 primjeraka tiraža. Dakle, izdavač - trgovac bi imao čisti profit od milion i po maraka! Ja završim cijeli proces-donesem mu gotovu knjigu, prodam mu svih 10.000 primjeraka odjednom za 500.000, a on ih proda za 2.000.000 i ostane mu 1.500.000?! Ali, rekao sam mu, ljudi će misliti da ja lično prodajem knjigu tako skupo, iako je to realna cijena! Briga me za ljude, rekao je. Onda sam ga oprezno pitao, iako sam pretpostavljao odgovor: koliko novca ćeš ti od tog svog profita od moje knjige uplatiti fondaciji i djeci? Briga me za djecu, rekao je. Rekao je još gore, psovku...

Tako, nakon štampanja knjige, ostavio sam svoju porodicu, tek rođenog sina i 4. maja 2002. godine krenuo u promociju knjige i fondacije po svijetu: 16 zemalja, oko 250 gradova, pet punih godina zaredom, nekada na putu i po četrdeset dana... kasnije malo rjeđe. Prodali smo oko 6.000 knjiga, donatorima poklonili hiljadu, negdje nam je pokradeno, sakriveno, neki u Americi kažu "istruhlo u poplavi u garaži" sveukupno oko 2.000 knjiga. Hiljadu knjiga se vodi kao "nestalo", negdje u nekim gradovima gdje smo ih ostavili ljudima od povjerenja...

Ne kajem se, ponosan sam, presretan, zadovoljan, ispunjen nijet, ali bilo je strašno, naporno, dugo je trajalo. Bosancima je teško pokloniti knjigu, a kamoli je prodati, pa čak i jeftino...

I cannot write an acknowledgement, because I cannot write an exhaustive list of the magnificent people who helped in the creation of this book, its distribution across the world, the promotion and the payments into the Foundation's account - because there are so many of them, to my great fortune. Faruk Pašić from Gothenburg drove pallets of books across Europe with his own truck, Idriz Čolović and friends from Frankfurt offloaded, stored (police once found them offloading books and they could not believe that Bosnians were so careful with books sot hat they decided to actually help them carry them into the warehouse!). The Didović family organised promotional events and distribution across the US. Erkam Hadžifejzović recorded every single copy sold, he kept meticulous accounts to ensure that every single convertible mark intended for scholarships would end up anywhere else... Hajra Ćatić and Nura Begović, the two ladies from the Women of Srebrenica Association, are still looking for their loved ones who had gone missing in Srebrenica, but they continue to support children who had lost their mothers. Hajra Ćatić is still looking for her son, my colleague Nino Ćatić, a young journalist who sent his last report from Srebrenica for TV BiH on 10 July 1995 and was killed a few days later... A mother who is still looking for her son is helping sons who had lost their mothers... Most of the credit for looking after the children and the Foundation truly goes to Hajra and Nura.

...

This way or another, all of this started in April 1992... The war started and RTV BiH journalists and editors were told to stay at work overnight. No one could leave, there was sniper fire around the building, there were mortar shells, and we had to stay and work as it was uncertain whether the next shift could reach the building in the morning.... Late at night, there was a group of us, journalists, sitting, waiting to get killed, in silence. Edina Bećirević, a young journalist, was there.

She looked at me, as if asking something in total silence.

"We need to educate children," I said. "We have to educate new generations, to be smarter than us. Only education and knowledge can save us, nothing else."

I'm certain this wasn't what she asked, I have no idea why I said this, or why I thought about the future in the utter chaos that surrounded us, but I know this: years later, I was helping the children of Srebrenica, victims of genocide, get an education, and Edina became a superb scholar and imagine, her Ph.D. thesis was entitled Genocide in Eastern Bosnia!

Nothing in life happens by accident, including this night in the war. I think we won.

Ne mogu se zahvaliti, ne mogu napraviti taj spisak veličanstvenih ljudi koji su pomogli u nastajanju ove knjige, njenoj distribuciji po svijetu, organizaciji promocija knjige i uplaćivanju novca u fondaciju, ima tih ljudi na svu sreću mnogo.

Faruk Pašić iz Geteborga je palete knjiga razvozio svojim kamionima po Evropi, Idriz Čolović i prijatelji iz Frankfurta pretovarali, skladištili (kada ih je policija zatekla kako pretovaraju knjige, nije mogla da vjeruje da Bosanci vode toliko računa o knjigama pa im je fizički pomogla da ih uskladište!). Porodica Điđović u Americi je organizovala distribuciju, promocije. Preko ruku Erkama Hadžifejzovića prošla je svaka prodata knjiga, svaku je zabilježio i precizno evidentirao prodaju da djeca ne bi bila zakinuta ni za marku stipendije... Gospođe Hajra Ćatić i Nura Begović iz udruženja "Žene Srebrenice" još traže svoje najmilije, nestale u Srebrenici, a pomažu djeci koja su ostala bez majki. Hajra Ćatić još traži svog sina, mog kolegu, mladog novinara Ninu Ćatića, koji je posljednji izvještaj iz Srebrenice za TVBiH poslao 10. jula 1995. godine i ubijen nekoliko dana kasnije... Majka koja traži svog sina, pomaže sinove koji su ostali bez majki... Hajra i Nura su najzaslužnije za brigu o djeci i fondaciji.

...

Sve ovo začelo se, načelo, počelo je u aprilu 1992. godine... Počeo je rat i novinari i urednici RTV BiH dobijaju naređenje da moraju ostati na poslu i preko noći. Ne smije se vani, pucaju snajperi po zgradi televizije, udaraju granate, a mora se i dežurati-sutra na posao možda neće doći nova smjena... U jednoj kancelariji, duboko u noći, sjedimo, čekamo da poginemo i šutimo nas nekoliko novinara. Među njima je Edina Bećirević, mlada novinarka.

Gleda me i kao da šutnjom pita nešto.

"Treba školovati djecu", kažem. "Moramo školovati nove generacije da budu pametnije od nas. Samo škola, obrazovanje, znanje će nas spasiti".

Ona to sigurno nije htjela da me pita, ja ne znam zašto sam izgovorio ove rečenice, otkud mi uopšte u tom haosu priča iz budućnosti, ali znam: godinama poslije ja sam školovao djecu Srebrenice, siročad koja su žrtve genocida, a Edina je postala vrhunski doktor nauka, zamislite, sa doktorskim radom "Genocid u Istočnoj Bosni"!

Ništa u životu nije slučajno, pa ni ta ratna noć. Mislim da smo pobijedili. The entire amount provided as sponsorship for the printing of this book shall be paid into the account of the Children of Srebrenica Foundation, which provides scholarships for children who lost both parents in Srebrenica and more recently the children who have returned to Srebrenica and the River Drina Valley.

Kompletan iznos sponzorskih sredstava uplaćenih za štampanje ove knjige, biće uplaćen na račun Fondacije "Djeca Srebrenice" koja školuje djecu koja su u ratu ostala bez oba roditelja u Srebrenici, a sada i djecu, učenike, povratnike u Srebrenicu i Podrinje.

Sponsors of War: Live on Air and donors for the Children of Srebrenica Foundation: Sponzori knjige "Rat uživo" i donatori Fondacije "Djeca Srebrenice:























THANK YOU/HVALA:

Hajrudin Andelija, Hamed Ramić, Arif Kulić, Izudin Ahmetlić, Adnan i Senad Misimović, Selver Oruč, Mustafa Duraković, Muamer Ćesir, Borut Ziherl, Senad Pezo, Avdo Zečević, Habib Dedić, Šefika i Nusret Heco

Franc Predan

Esad Sejtarija

Faruk Pašić

WAR-TIME TV NEWS RATNI TELEVIZIJSKI DNEVNIK

This book is unique in every way.

One of the finest television journalists and editors ever to be born or made in the Yugoslav region has assembled between these covers, in a wholly documentary, that is honest, way, transcripts of all or almost all the TV News broadcasts he edited and anchored during the most dramatic and most tragic period of the long history of the state of Bosnia, or to give it its official, political name, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The time is not yet over when by every standard, both valid and invalid, television and its main evening News were the mouthpiece of the State, the Party and the Authorities. It so happened that in 1992, that young man, still almost a youth, by the name of Senad Hadžifejzović, without a shadow of doubt the best of those who 'edited and anchored' that most crucial of chores, the state television news, LIVED this book.

Evo pred nama po svemu jedinstvene knjige!

Jedan od najboljih televizijskih novinara-urednika što se uopće rodio-dogodio na južnoslavenskim prostorima sabrao je "među korice", na sasvim dokumentaran, tj. pošten način, sve tonske zapise svih, ili gotovo svih, TV-dnevnika koje je uređivao i vodio u najdramatičnijoj i najtragičnijoj dionici višestoljetne povijesti države Bosne, čije je službeno, političko ime: Bosna i Hercegovina. Još nije prošla povijest u kojoj je, prema svim, dobrim ili nevaljalim mjerilima, Televizija i njen glavni, većernji Dnevnik -glas Države, glas Partije i Vlasti. Slučilo se da, 1992. godine, taj mladić, gotovo dječak, imenom Senad Hadžifejzović, nesumnjivo najbolji među onima koji "uređuju i vode" tu najvažniju rabotu, državni tv-dnevnik, DOŽIVI ovu knjigu.

Abdulah Sidran

